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THE
CROMWELLIAN SETTLEMENT
OF
IRELAND.

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IRE LAND.



Arms of the Commonwealth, on the Proclamation of the Lord Deputy and
Council of 14th October, 1653, regulating the Transplantation.

[From a copy at Kilkenny Castle.]

Second Edition, Enlarged.

DUBLIN:
M^oGLASHAN & GILL, UPPER SACKVILLE-STREET.
1875.

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P R E F A C E .

IT is just five years since the publication of the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland. In that interval I have had the advantage, as a preparation for the present edition, of spending a considerable part of each year in the study, under a Public Commission, of the great body of historical papers called The Carte Collection, preserved at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.¹

The Ormonde Papers, which form the most important part of the Carte Collection, comprise the papers, public and private, connected with the government of Ireland during the Duke of Ormonde's engagement in public affairs—an engagement which commenced at the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion in 1641, and continued almost to his death, in 1688, with the exception of the ten years of "Ursurped Power," between 1650 and 1660, when he was in exile with the King. The documents concerning Ireland during the Commonwealth period are, accordingly, few. But from the Restoration

¹ The Reverend Dr. Russell, President of Maynooth, was appointed in 1865, by Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, my fellow-Commissioner, to go through this great collection, and to catalogue for transcription the official documents it might contain.

of the monarchy, Ormonde was the statesman to whom the King, his countrymen, and everybody looked for guidance in their difficulties in Ireland, and to him in effect was its government committed as Lord Lieutenant, during the greater part of his life. He was made referee of the Commissioners of the Court of Claims by the Act of Settlement in cases of difficulty. From him, also, as Lord Lieutenant, all redress was to be sought in the first instance. Hence there abound among Lord Ormonde's papers, petitions presented to him by the former proprietors, anxious, after seven years of weary exile in Connaught, or beyond sea, to behold the smoke of their own chimneys,¹ and to sit again at their own hearths, then in the possession of the Adventurers and Soldiers.

In these petitions they set forth their "services and sufferings," and often detail what happened to them during the Commonwealth government; and by these they pray to be restored to their former lands, or to be admitted to inhabit again the towns where they formerly owned dwellings.

The information thus supplied is often a very interesting part of the subject of this work, but was necessarily wanting in the former edition. Thus the account of Lord Trimleston's transplantation from his castle near Trim, in the county of Meath, to Monivea,

¹ "I shall long infinitely see the smoke of my own chimney." Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, to Ormonde, 7 March, 1648-9. "Carte Papers," vol. xxiv., p. 45.

in the county of Galway, as there given, is drawn from the Order Books of the Commissioners for Ireland. No notice is taken in these orders of the fate of the former proprietor of Monivea. But among the Carte Papers is found the petition of Patrick French, by which it appears that he was removed with his family from his ancient residence at Monivea, to an assignment on the Clanricard estate, and that he had lost this assignment by the Marchioness of Clanricard's restoration to her jointure lands by the King's order. Yet he could not get back into possession of Monivea (though Lord Trimleston, by the Act for the Settlement of Ireland, passed in 1662, was one of the thirty-six nominees, who were, without further proof, to be restored to their former estates); for the Adventurer or soldier in possession was not to quit until he should be offered a reprise of lands as good as he had got,¹ which were not readily forthcoming. And by the Act of Explanation, passed in 1665, the Nominees were not to be restored, until all deficient Adventurers and soldiers were supplied, as it was by this latter Act declared that "the interest of His Majesty's Protestant subjects were his greatest care, and to be first provided for,"² which rendered his restoration impossible, as these deficiencies were more than

¹ The King's Declaration of 30th November, 1660, for the Settlement of Ireland, clause xxv., embodied in 14th and 15th Chas. II. (A. D. 1662), chap. 2.

² 17 & 18 Chas. II. (A. D. 1665), chap. 2, sects. 5 and 6.

enough to exhaust all the land applicable to reprisals. Lord Trimleston, consequently, died in possession of Monivea in 1676, as will be seen by the inscription over his tomb ; and Patrick French only recovered his property by purchasing it in 1678, from Lord Trimleston's son and successor, who, probably, in like manner bought back a remnant of the Trimleston estate from the Adventurer or soldier to whom it had been assigned.

In the former edition the clearing of the towns of their ancient inhabitants is given as derived from Cromwellian sources. But there is no learning from them what became of the banished people. From the petitions, however, of the banished merchants of Waterford, presented to Ormonde after the Restoration, preserved among the Carte Papers, it appears that, on being driven from Waterford by General Ireton, on its capture in 1650, they retired to Ostend, St. Malos, Nantz, Cadiz, and some even to Mexico ; and traded, and acquired capital, and relieved as many Royalists as came in their way.

They prayed, therefore, to be allowed to return with their stocks, and to exercise in their native city the skill they had acquired during eleven years' trading abroad.

From facts such as these, derived from the Carte Papers, I have selected the clearing of the towns of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Galway, as examples, to convey a fuller and clearer view of the dealing of

the Commissioners of Parliament, with the cities and walled towns of Ireland, than it was possible for me to do in the former edition.

In that edition, “the Irish massacre,” as it has been generally called, was treated as an historical falsehood. As the dissent from this view, of a no less eminent historian than Professor Goldwin Smith, of the University of Oxford, has been lately expressed,¹ I have given some grounds, not before stated, for so treating it. Curry² and Carey³ have discussed the question at length; and their collection of proofs is convincing to show how erroneous is the charge. And Lingard, an independent inquirer, comes to a like conclusion. If Mr. Goldwin Smith has critically examined this subject, there can, of course, be no objection made to his expressing his opinion in the strongest manner. But even supposing his conclusion to be right, he still commits a great in-

¹ Professor Goldwin Smith says, in his “Cromwell,” “The Catholics had begun it [the war] by a great massacre of the Protestants, on the reality of which it seems to me idle to cast a doubt, though assuredly, if such deeds could ever be pardoned, they might be pardoned in a people so deeply wronged, so brutalized by oppression as the Catholics of Ireland then were.” “Three English Statesmen,” 1867.

² “Historical and Critical Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland, &c.” By John Curry, M. D. 2 vols. 8vo. London : 1786.

³ “Vindiciae Hibernicæ, or Ireland Vindicated, &c., particularly in the legendary tales of the Conspiracy and pretended Massacre in 1641.” By M. Carey. 8vo. Philadelphia : 1819.

justice by using such terms as that “the Catholics had begun the war by a great massacre of Protestants;” for he thus includes in the charge three-fourths of the inhabitants of Ireland of that religion who were entirely free from it, even by the admission of their enemies, as the scene was confined to Ulster. And if the Irish of Ulster, being Catholics, and by his own statement “deeply wronged and oppressed” by the English, being Protestants, and were thus forced into resistance and rebellion, it is surely misleading to speak of a massacre of Protestants by Catholics, instead of English by Irish ? They were attacked, not as heretics, but as oppressors—not as Protestants, but as plunderers.

There is no space for a proper treatment of the subject within the limits of this work, and I only trust that my imperfect remarks may not prejudice the question. If they should give rise to any controversy, no greater benefit could be conferred on the Irish ; for the tale of this massacre will be for ever set at rest, when the question shall be again discussed.

The frontispiece to this volume is a perfect facsimile of a Cromwellian Debenture.

At the time of publishing the former edition, I had never seen a Debenture, though for near twenty years, I may truly say, I lost no opportunity of searching for one. When travelling on circuit, it was my custom to ask every one I could venture to address, if he had one, or had ever seen one, or if he had or knew

of any one who had any Cromwellian documents. Though my search proved ineffectual to get sight of a Debenture, this general query obtained me some valuable documents, and amongst them a transcript from Lord Strafford's Map of the lands intended to be planted in the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, in the county of Tipperary, made in or about the year 1637. These great maps—for they comprised Connaught—were the first, it is believed, drawn to scale in Ireland, the size being 40 perches in an inch, and 21 feet to a perch. They were all burned in the great fire of 15th April, 1711, which destroyed the Council Office in Essex-street; and the great value of the transcript is, that it is authenticated by the certificate of the officer entrusted with its custody, as made on 22nd June, 1710. I have never seen or heard of any other, and it was a question whether the maps were ever made.

It was the late Thomas Sadleir, of Ballinderry House, in the parish of Terryglas, in the North Riding of Tipperary, that lent me his transcript in the year 1851, to have a copy of it made. Various were the accounts given of Debenturers and Debentures in different neighbourhoods, but they all proved worthless. My hopes were once high raised by the late George Langford, attorney, of Nenagh, familiarly known as the "Long Vacation," for his tallness, the length of his legs and arms, and his easy air. He told me of a set of cabin holders not

far from Nenagh, that were said to represent Debenturers, that had got their lands for helping on Ireton's cannon to the siege of Limerick, in 1651. But nothing was known of all this on the spot. In his own villa, in the neighbourhood of Nenagh, he showed a Cromwellian sword (as he said) left behind by some officer of Ireton's, and kept as a relic ever since. At another house, they produced "Langley's iron hand," made for an officer of that name, to replace one lost by him at the storming of Clonmel, under Cromwell, in 1650. But, like the sword, there was no authentication of this curious object. The best hopes I ever had of a Debenture were those given me by the late Sir Montagu Chapman, Bart., of Killua Castle, in the county of Westmeath. I happened to meet him in the year 1851 on the Midland Great Western Railway ; and after conversing on Cromwellian subjects, I told him how I had searched in vain for a Cromwellian Debenture. "Well!" said he, "you shall not be long before you see one. I have a whole sheaf of them ; and the next time I go to Killua I will go to my deed chest, and bring them up to you." That very year he sailed to Australia, to visit an estate he possessed there, and the ship that carried him was never more heard of. On renewing my application, many years afterwards, to his brother, the present Sir Benjamin Chapman, he informed me that Sir Montagu was mistaken ; the sheaf he spoke of were assignments of Debentures, on small pieces of paper

made by soldiers to their officer, similar to those mentioned at p. 224, n. 3.

In 1856, being appointed Turnpikes Abolition Commissioner, and made keeper for the time of the Mullingar Road Debentures, I never looked at them without wishing I might thus come on some Cromwellian debentures. But I had long given up all hope. The very year, however, of publishing the Cromwellian Settlement (1865), I unexpectedly received the inestimable document from Mr. Joseph Hanly, to whom I am indebted for so much valuable information. It will be seen (p. 201), that the soldiers or their representatives held 21,615 debentures in their hands, at the King's Restoration in 1660 ; and it is to be presumed, that on getting a confirmation of their lands in the Court of Claims, 1660-1670, they were called in, and cancelled. But there is no provision to that effect in the Act of Settlement. They were obliged, however, to prove their title to the lands they had in possession, on the 7th May, 1659, and must necessarily produce the Debentures and the assignments ; and there can be little doubt that the Debentures were taken from the claimant to prevent any double claims, and the assignments handed back, and thus would be explained the cause of the abundance of these latter documents, and the rarity of Debentures.

The Debenture represented in this volume, it will be seen, was given for arrears before 1649 ; and the

lateness of its date—26 May, 1658—shows that it belonged to that body of Forty-nine men who were excluded, by the Act of Settlement, from the benefit of receiving lands for their arrears, as betrayers of the King's Munster Garrisons to Cromwell,¹ which would account for its remaining in possession of the officer.

The Lists of the Adventurers for the Land and Sea Forces are now for the first time published, containing the names, designations, and subscriptions of the 1360 Adventurers.

The subject of Soldiers' arrears is treated more at length, and an explanation given of the many different classes of them. And there will be found a fuller account of Debentures and their issue. There are few, indeed, of the matters treated of in the former edition but will be found to have received fresh elucidation, and to be illustrated by new and additional instances in the present.

JOHN P. PRENDERGAST.

SANDYMOUNT, DUBLIN,
1st of May, 1870.

¹ 14th & 15th Chas. II. (A. D. 1662), chap. 2, sect. 195.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

Of all possessions in a country, Land is the most desirable. It is the most fixed. It yields its returns in the form of rent with the least amount of labour or forethought to the owner. But, in addition to all these advantages, the possession of it confers such power, that the balance of power in a state rests with the class that has the balance of Land.

The laws of most of the states of Europe since the days of the Northern invasions have been made by the landowners. They represent the Conquerors, and have been enabled to prescribe to the mass of the people on what conditions they shall live on the land, or whether indeed they shall live there at all.

The term “Settlement,” of such great import in the history of Ireland in the Seventeenth century, means nothing else than the settlement of the balance of land according to the will of the strongest ; for force, not reason, is the source of law. And by the term Cromwellian Settlement is to be understood the history of the dealings of the Commonwealth of England with the lands and habitations of the people of Ireland after their conquest of the country in the year 1652.

As their object was rather to extinguish a nation than to suppress a religion, they seized the lands of the Irish, and transferred them (and with them all the power of the state) to an overwhelming flood of new English settlers, filled with the intensest national and religious hatred of the Irish.

Two other settlements followed, which may be called the Restoration Settlement, and the Revolution Settlement. The one was a counter revolution, by which some of the Royalist English of Ireland and a few of the native Irish were restored to their estates under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation.¹ The other (or Revolution Settlement) followed the victory of William III. at the Battle of the Boyne. By it the lands lately restored to the Royalist English and few native Irish were again seized by the Parliament of England, and distributed among the conquering nation.

¹ Such was the national hatred of the Royalists of England to the Irish (who fought, and lost country and everything for the King), that even in their common exile abroad they rejoiced at Cromwell's proceedings in stripping the Irish of their lands :—

“ We are at a dead calm [writes Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, from Paris, in 1654] for all manner of intelligence. Cromwell, no doubt, is very busy. Nathaniel Fiennes is made Chancellor of Ireland ; and they doubt not to plant that kingdom without opposition. And truly, if we can get it again, we shall find difficulties removed which a virtuous Prince and more quiet times could never have compassed.” Sir Edward Hyde to Mr. Betius, Paris, 29th May, 1654.—Clarendon’s “ State Tracts,” vol. iii., p. 244. Folio. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

At the Court for the Sale of Estates forfeited on account of the war of 1690, the lands could be purchased only by Englishmen. No Irishman, high or low, could purchase an acre of them, or occupy more than the site for a cabin ; for to the condition of labourers it was intended that the relics of the nation should be reduced.¹

The Penal Laws, which lasted nearly in full force till the breaking out of the first American War, were nothing but the complement of the Forfeited Estates Act. Their main purpose was, on the one hand, to prevent the Irish from ever enlarging their landed interest beyond the low state to which it had been reduced after the sales by the Forfeited Estates Court—for which reason they were forbid to purchase land ; and, on the other hand, to contrive by all political ways, and particularly by denying them the power to make settlements of their property by deed or will, and by making their lands divisible equally among their sons at their death, to crumble and break in pieces the remnant that had escaped confiscation, and thereby to deprive them of all power and consideration in the state.² It will thus be seen that these three Settle-

¹ They could be purchased by Protestants (*i. e.* English) only, 1st Anne, st. 1, c. 26, sect. 8, English Statute. Two acres was the utmost an Irishman could take a lease of.—*Ib.* sect. 10.

² “As to the intention of the Act,¹ it is plain the legislature had a double view; first, to disable Papists from enlarging their

¹ 8th Anne, c. 3, A. D. 1710.

ments are only parts of one whole, and that the Cromwellian Settlement is the foundation of the present settlement of Ireland.

The term Settlement being understood in this sense, the present sketch is conversant directly with the measures taken by the Parliament of England in dealing with the land. The history of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, the personal character of Cromwell and the chief actors, the account of the war from 1649 to 1653, are no further touched upon than has been thought necessary to the main purpose of the sketch. But it will be seen from the Introduction, and in treating the details of the Cromwellian Settlement, how large a share of the history of Ireland is involved in the Land question.

From the days of the first invasion, the King and Council of England intended to make English landed proprietors in Ireland the rulers of Ireland, as William the Conqueror had made the French of Normandy landlords and rulers of the English. Though the English were interrupted in this scheme for the government of Ireland by the wars of Edward I. for the subjection of the Scotch, by the wars of Edward III. and his successors

landed interest, so as they should soon moulder away in their hands : the second view was to encourage them to become converts by throwing some temporal invitation in their way." *Vicars against Carroll*, in the Exchequer, 10th February, 1728. " Several Special Cases on the Laws against the further Growth of Popery in Ireland. By George Edmond Howard, Esq.," p. 37. 8vo. Dublin : 1775.

for the crown of France, and finally by the civil wars of England, called the “Wars of the Roses,” the design was never abandoned. And when Henry VIII., disengaged from foreign war and domestic treason, had time to destroy the house of Kildare, he projected the clearing of Ireland to the Shannon, and colonizing it with English. But the new conquest of Ireland only really began in the reigns of his three children, Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, when the conquest of the lands of the Irish for the purpose of new colonizing or planting them with English was resumed, after an interval of more than three hundred years. During this interval the English Pale, or that part of Ireland subject to the regular jurisdiction of the King of England and his laws, had been gradually contracting—partly by the English of Ireland throwing off the feudal system, and partly by reconquests effected by the Irish, until in the reign of Henry VI. the Pale was nearly limited by the line of the Liffey and the Boyne. Beyond the Pale the English and the Irish dwelt intermixed. And in all the plans for restoring the regular administration of the King's laws in Ireland, previous to the reign of Edward VI., it was always proposed that the English of Ireland should be brought back to their ancient military discipline, and should conquer from the Irish the lands in their possession, in order that they might be given to English under grants on feudal conditions by the King.

But the English of Ireland clearly foresaw that the

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effect of the complete conquest of the Irish would be to give the Government of Ireland to the English of England. Their armed retainers, called Gallowglasses and Kerne, would be put down, as there would no longer remain the pretence of defending the land from the King's Irish enemies. With the regular administration of English law would come back wardships, marriages, reliefs, escheats, and forfeitures, which they were only too happy to have thrown off in the days of Edward II.; and the final result would be to bring over new colonists from England, who would be rivals to supplant them in the favour of the Government, and in all the offices of the State. The English of Ireland, consequently, were secretly indisposed to effect the reconquest, and it was not until they were subdued that the second conquest began.

The first blow to the English of Irish birth was the limiting the power of the Parliament. In the reign of Henry VII., Sir Edward Poynings forced from the Irish Parliament a statute whereby the Privy Council of England were made virtually controllers of the Parliament of Ireland; for thenceforth it could originate no statutes, and could pass only such as had been first approved by the Privy Council of England. The Parliament had in fact long become devoted to the Earls of Kildare, who had thereby grown too powerful for the Kings of England. The next and final blow to the power of the English of Ireland was the fall of the House of Kildare, when Silken Thomas, Earl of Kildare, and his five uncles,

were executed at Tyburn for treason, at the end of Henry VIII.'s reign. The head of the ancient English of Ireland had now fallen; their Parliament had been already deprived of its power; the main obstacles to the designs of England were removed; and in the following reigns the reconquest of Ireland by plantation began.

At first it was the native Irish that were stripped, as the O'Moores, the O'Connors, and the O'Neils. The Earl of Desmond's great territories, extending over Limerick and Kerry, Cork and Waterford, were next confiscated and planted. Finally, in James I.'s reign, the native Irish, not only of Ulster, but of Leitrim, and wherever else they continued possessed of their original territories, were dispossessed of portions of their lands, varying from one-third to three-fourths, to form plantations of new English. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the old English of Ireland, though they agreed in point of religion with the native Irish, always adhered to the English in any rebellion of the Irish, as in a national quarrel. In James I.'s reign, as all the planters were of the new religion, the old English found themselves supplanted by them in all the offices of the State, as the Irish found themselves supplanted by them in their native homes.

It is needless here to recapitulate the long-continued injuries and insults by which the ancient English of Ireland were forced into the same ranks with the Irish in defence of the King's cause in 1641. Chief among

them were the attempts to seize their estates under the plea of defective title, in order to plant them with new English. It was thus Lord Strafford got Connaught and parts of Tipperary and Limerick into his power, with the intention of forming a new plantation at the expense of the Bourkes and other old English. One of the old English, in 1644, thus graphically expresses their feelings:—"Was it not the usual taunt of the late Lord Strafford and all his fawning sycophants, in their private conversations with those of the Pale, that they were the most refractory men of the whole kingdom, and that it was more necessary (that is, for their own crooked ends) that they should be planted and supplanted than any others; and that where plantations might not reach, Defective Titles should extend?" He had known many an officer and gentleman, he adds, who had left a hand at Kinsale in fighting in defence of the Crown of England, when the Spaniards and the Earl of Tyrone were defeated by Lord Mountjoy, to be afterwards deprived of his pension for having refused to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance in the Protestant form, though, as one of them answered, on being questioned before the State for matter of recusancy (as they termed it), "It was not asked of me the day of Kinsale what religion I was of."

¹ "Queries propounded by the Protestant Party concerning the Peace now treated of in Ireland, and the Answers thereto made on behalf of the Irish Nation," pp. 11, 12. Small 4to. Paris: 1644.

The Scotch and English, however, having rebelled against the King in 1639 (for the march of the Scotch rebels to the border in that year was on the invitation of the leaders of the popular party in England, though they themselves did not openly take the field till 1642),¹ the Irish rose in his favour. They were finally subdued, in 1652, by Cromwell and the arms of the Commonwealth ; and then took place a scene not witnessed in Europe since the conquest of Spain by the Vandals. Indeed, it is injustice to the Vandals to equal them with the English of 1652 ; for the Vandals came as strangers and conquerors in an age of force and barbarism, nor did they banish the people, though they seized and divided their lands by lot ;² but the English, in 1652, were of the same nation as half of the chief families in Ireland, and had at that time had the island under their sway for five hundred years.

The captains and men of war of the Irish, amounting to 40,000 men and upwards, they banished into Spain, where they took service under that king ; others of them, with a crowd of orphan boys and girls, were transported to serve the English planters in the

¹ To obtain a clear account of the leading causes and principal events of this era in England in a short compass, with all the evidence to support his view, I know nothing equal to "The Britannic Constitution," by Roger Acherley, Esq., of the Middle Temple. (chap. ix., "Breaches of the Constitution in the Reign of Charles I."). Folio. London : 1727.

² See Robertson's "History of the Emperor Charles V.," Appendix to Introduction.

West Indies ; and the remnant of the nation, not banished or transported, were to be transplanted into Connaught, while the conquering army divided the ancient inheritances of the native and naturalized Irish amongst them by lot.

This scene, never before described, is the subject of the present sketch. By what accident it became my study may deserve mention.

I had for about ten years belonged to the Leinster Circuit, travelling through the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Tipperary, when, in the year 1846, I received a commission from England to make some pedigree researches concerning an Anglo-Norman family of the county of Tipperary. Furnished with an old pedigree, which had been given to one of its members by the Ulster King of Arms, when quitting Ireland, as an exile, after the battle of the Boyne, I visited the ancient seat of the family.

It lay twelve miles south of Clonmel, on the right bank of the Suir, under a range of hills that there bars the course of that river from north to south, and sends it thirty miles eastward to issue below Waterford, as one of "the Three Sisters,"¹ to the sea. Here I found an old ruined castle, and beside it a still more ruined chapel, and desecrated graveyard—those unmistakeable monuments of an overthrown people and religion. This baronial castle was the head of many a later and dependent tower and demesne, allotments

¹ The Nore, the Barrow, and the Suir.

of the original territory amongst the posterity of the first settler. The principal castle was built, probably, in the reign of King John, and guarded the pass over the hills between the counties of Tipperary and Waterford. It was the head of the barony; and, as appeared by the Inquisitions, the dependent castles were bound each to send so many reaping hooks in harvest, so many garrans to plough in spring and autumn, and to render so many pottles of honey at Easter, and a poundage hog, and so many wax candles at Christmas. Among the many broken tombstones of the family, there lay within the walls of the roofless chapel a large one fractured across the centre. It recorded the name and virtues of a captain in the army, who, as far as could be deciphered, had received the public thanks; but the stone was gapped, and, the next word being "borough," I was conjecturing that he had been a Member of Parliament. One of the crowd who watched the attempt to decipher the inscription sent a boy for the fragment, which marked a potato ridge in the adjoining conacre field. It filled the gap, and the inscription now showed that he had "received the public thanks [of the great Duke of Marl]borough for his distinguished services at the siege of Aire, in Flanders, in 1710."

The prospect of the mountain, the river, and the plain, together with the scene of ruin all around, so characteristic of the country, excited my interest; and the pedigrees (for in the neighbourhood I discovered

another) were now studied with care. The family, it seems, had come over from Pembrokeshire with Strongbow, and by an alliance with the De Birminghams had obtained large possessions both in Tipperary and in Waterford (counties which the chain of hills here divides); so large, indeed, that the country people, endued with an imagination that supplies a tradition for everything, call the family, whose memory they tenaciously preserve, the Clan a Gothag, or Clan of the Smoke; for they say that the founder of the family, the first invader, halted on the summit of the pass, from whence could be seen the Suir flowing north and south on one side, and the Blackwater in the same direction on the other; and, lighting a fire, he said that he would follow and conquer with the smoke. It was a calm summer day, and the smoke rose, and spread both ways.

There they remained, possessed of lands in Tipperary and Waterford, from the days of King John. In the year 1650, Cromwell, leaving his winter quarters in Youghal at an unusually early season of the year for campaigning in Ireland (the 29th of January), crossed the Suir at Cahir, nine miles to the north of this castle; and sending a detachment towards it, it was surrendered, but was yielded back on condition of the defences being taken down. A few soldiers were left to see this done. The rest of the detachment had not proceeded far before they heard confused noises behind; and they hurried back, thinking

that the tenants of the castle were murdering their comrades. But it was only the noise of a pack of buck-hounds, kept in the bawn, or fortified curtilage. So they brought off the owner and his hounds to Cromwell, then on his march to the siege to Kilkenny, who was thus afforded some good sport. And the dogs would seem to have proved very respectable mediators with Cromwell for their master; for he so ingratiated himself with Cromwell (according to the account given in the pedigree) by this strange hunting bout, that the stern general promised him his favour. Be this as it may, among the few letters of the Lord Protector there does remain one in favour of a gentleman of the same name "of the County of Tipperary," requesting that he might be spared from transplantation.

His estate, however, passed to the Adventurers. Whole families of his kinsmen, as I afterwards found, were transplanted from the neighbouring castles into Connaught. Thence some of them petitioned to be allowed to come back, merely to get in their last harvest; but they were refused; they were only suffered to send some servants. Soon afterwards they sold their assignments in Connaught for a trifle to the officers of transplantation, and fled in horror and aversion from the scene, and embarked for Spain. At the Restoration, the heir, who had served under the King's ensigns abroad, returned; and, expecting to be restored to his estate, complained

to the Council that he found the Adventurer in possession of the family estate cutting down all the timber, endeavouring, evidently, to make the most of his time, in case he should lose the lands by this new revolution. As the timber on all forfeited lands was, by Cromwell's Acts, reserved to the State, the Council had issued a proclamation, on the Restoration, to prevent the cutting down of trees. The affidavit of the heir still remains, informing the Council that, when he showed the Adventurer the proclamation, he and his men answered him, "that they did not value the said proclamation, and that they would not leave standing a tree, of all the wood but one, whereon he, this deponent, should hang."

Deprived of their estates, which were never restored, different branches of the family became tenants under the Adventurers of the lands they had once owned as lords. Some of them, still adhering to the Crown, forfeited their leases after the battle of the Boyne, and became exiles. Others held on. One of the family—the grandfather of him whose pedigree I was commissioned to investigate—happened to be conducting agent for one of the candidates at the election at Clonmel for the county of Tipperary caused by the accession of George III. He tendered his vote. "You know you married a Papist," said the opposing agent, and thus denied his right. The other challenged him for the insult. They retired at once to the Green of Clonmel, behind the Courthouse, where the man in-

sulted on account of his wife's religion was shot dead, the other with difficulty escaping, on a horse, from the excited crowd across the River Suir, which runs by the Green. I did not understand, until later, that if a Protestant married an Irishwoman, and she did not conform to English religion within one year of the marriage, he sank to the Helot-like condition of his wife's people; he was deprived of all rights ; he became "a constructive Papist;" and "a Protestant of this class was, in the eye of the law, a more odious Papist (to use the words of the Court) than a real and actual Papist by profession and principle."¹

On my return to Dublin, I had recourse to the Records, to trace the pedigree. The Rolls of Chancery begin only in the reign of Edward II., almost all the earlier ones having been burnt by a fire that destroyed St. Mary's Abbey, where they were then deposited. Many early links, however, were obtained from the Tower of London, whither appeals in Writs of Right by members of the family, and in one case of Wager of Battle, carried from Ireland to Westminster in the reign of Edward I., had been preserved. From Edward II. to the 34th of Henry VIII. comparatively little information was to be obtained, as in that interval the regular administration of English law was suspended, except in the Pale ; and the English

¹ The case of *Rives against Roderic*, in the Exchequer, Hilary Term, 1729. Howard's "Cases on the Laws against the further Growth of Popery in Ireland," p. 60. 8vo. Dublin: 1775.

in the provinces ruled their differences by March Law, the Irish by Brehon Law, and some of the towns (as for instance, Galway) by the Civil Law.

But after the fall of the House of Kildare, the Feudal Law was resumed, and Inquisitions taken upon the death of every landowner “found,” or recorded in Chancery, his death ; what estates he died seised of ; who was his heir, and whether under age, and unmarried ; for in that case the King became entitled to the guardianship and marriage of the heir, and to the rents of the estate during the minority, without account. Thus, from 1540 to 1640 nothing was easier than to trace the chain. But here these documents ended, and a gap ensued, which it was long difficult to bridge. The Statutes, after a similar gap, began in 1662 with the Act of Settlement. After some study it proved unintelligible. It was founded on transactions of which there was no explanation. The histories of Ireland afforded next to nothing.

The search for information had been for some time abandoned as nearly hopeless, when I remembered that in the King’s Inns’ Library there were pamphlets amounting to thousands, but not catalogued. Each day, after court, a certain number were gone through, until at length the whole was examined. Between 1641 and 1650, there were plenty of pamphlets about Ireland ; but they concerned the War ; and it was not such I wanted. I had come to perceive the importance of the history of the Landed Settlement of Ireland,

and I desired those that concerned the period from 1650 to 1660. I only found the following, viz.:—“The Great Case of Transplantation in Ireland Discussed,” in the year 1655, with an answer by Colonel Lawrence, and a reply by Vincent Gookin (the author of the “Case”); and Colonel Lawrence’s “Interest of England in the Well Planting of Ireland with English People Discussed,” in 1656.

My interest was now redoubled, for I had begun to form some conception of the Settlement. I went back to the Rolls Office to ask Mr. Hatchell, so long Deputy Keeper, if he knew anything of the History of the Settlement; and if not, who did? He answered, he knew nothing of it, “but perhaps Groves might.” He was an old clergyman, who had been one of the Record Commission of 1810. Mr. Groves knew nothing, but said Mr. Shaw Mason might—he had been Secretary to the Commission; but Mr. Mason knew no more than Mr. Groves.

I now thought of searching the Record Commissioners’ Reports, and found that there were several volumes of Entry Books of the very date required, 1650–1659, in the custody of the Clerk of the Privy Council, preserved in the heavily embattled Tower which forms the most striking feature of the Castle of Dublin. They were only accessible at that day through the order of the Lord Lieutenant or Chief Secretary for Ireland. I obtained at length, in the month of

September, 1848, an order. It may be easily imagined with what interest I followed the porter up the winding standing stone staircase of this gloomy tower, once the prison of the Castle, and was ushered into a small central space that seemed dark, even after the dark stairs we had just left. As the eye became accustomed to the spot, it appeared that the doors of five cells made in the prodigious thickness of the Tower walls opened on the central space. From one of them Hugh Roe O'Donel is said to have escaped, by getting down the privy of his cell to the Poddle River that runs round the base of the Tower. The place was covered with the dust of twenty years; but, opening a couple of volumes of the Statutes—one as a clean spot to place my coat upon, the other to sit on—I took up my seat in the cell, exactly opposite to the one just mentioned, as it looked to the south over the Castle garden, and had better light. In this Tower, I found a series of Order Books of the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the Affairs of Ireland, together with Domestic Correspondence and Books of Establishments from 1650 to 1659.¹ They were marked on the back by the

¹ Under the late Record Act Sir Bernard Burke has been appointed Keeper of the State Papers in this Tower, and the whole presents under his care a complete contrast to what is here described. The Books of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland have been all rebound.

letter A over a number, as will be observed in the various references in the notes to the present sketch.¹ Here I found the records of a nation's woes. The first page I happened to open presented the following :—

" Forasmuch as the within Mrs. Mary Wolverston, by reason of the bad weather that hath happened, was disabled to travel with her provision and carriages into Connaught by the tyme limited in the within passe, these are therefore to desire all whom it may concern to permit the said Mary, and the within named persons her servants, with such corne and other necessary provisions as she or they shall have with them, quietly to pass into Connaught aforesaid to their habitations, she and they behaving themselves as becometh.

" THOMAS HERBERT, Clerk of the Council.

" *Dated the 14th October, 1654.*"

I felt that I had at last reached the haven I had been so long seeking. There I sat, extracting, for many weeks, until I began to know the voices of many of the corporals that came with the guard to relieve

¹ See the Catalogue of these Books, among the papers contained in the Council Office, in the volume of Reports from the Record Commissioners from 1816 to 1826, Appendix, p. 227.

² ₅ A. The Wolverstons were at this time owners of the noble demesne called Stillorgan Park, three miles south of Dublin, derived through the Cruise family, who were possessed of it in the beginning of the 13th century. ("History of the County of Dublin, by John D'Alton, Esq., Barrister at Law," p. 840. 8vo. Dublin : 1838.) It subsequently got the name of Carysfort Park, from becoming the property of the Earls of Carysfort. —

the sentry in the Castle yard below, and every drum and bugle call of the regiment quartered in the Ship-street barracks. At length, between the labour of copying, and excitement at the astonishing drama performing as it were before my eyes, my heart by some strange movements warned me it was necessary to retire for a time. But I again and again returned at intervals, sometimes of months, sometimes of years. Other depositories were ransacked. I got free range of the Exchequer, full of interesting historical documents, and containing the Minute and Order Books of Cromwell's Court of Claims. I had access to the Records of the late Auditor and Surveyor-General's offices in the Custom House Buildings, in the custody of W. H. Hardinge, Esq., whose works on the Official Maps and Surveys of the 1641 and 1688 Forfeitures, now publishing in the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," will become, for their extent and accuracy, the basis of much authentic history. Some of the Order Books of the Council are to be found here; and the correspondence of the Revenue Commissioners of the fifteen precincts into which Ireland was divided by the Commissioners of the Commonwealth abound in curious details. Every circuit I visited, through the kind permission of the late Marquis of Ormond, the muniment room of Kilkenny Castle, containing a series of private and public historical documents, some coëval with the first Conquest—a pleasure enhanced by a friendship with their accomplished keeper, the

Rev. James Graves, Honorary Secretary to the Kilkenny Archaeological Society.¹

This depository is still surprisingly rich, though three Irish carloads of papers concerning the Cromwellian and Restoration eras were carried away by Carte, to enable him to write the "History of the Life of James Duke of Ormond,"—papers which are to be found in the Great Carte collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. These were visited, as also the British Museum and State Paper Office, which, however, did not yield much. I must add the Library of Charles Haliday, Esq., at his Lucullan villa, Monkstown Park, rich in all the rarest literature relating to Ireland, with a collection of pamphlets and fugitive pieces from the earliest time to the present, probably unequalled,² over

¹ Author, jointly with J. G. A. Prim, of the "History of the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny." 4to. Dublin : Hodges and Smith, 1857. Mr. Graves is now editing, under the sanction of the Master of the Rolls, a Council Roll of 18th Richard II., A. D. 1395, preserved in Kilkenny Castle.

² Plutarch, after describing the elegance of Lucullus's villas, praises him for the libraries he had collected, and the number of volumes he had caused to be copied from him in elegant hands. His libraries were open to all. The Greeks repaired at pleasure to the galleries and porticos, as to the retreat of the Muses, and there spent whole days in conversation on matters of learning, delighted to retire to such a scene from business and from care. Lucullus often joined these learned men in their walks, and gave them his advice about the affairs of their country; so that his house was in fact an asylum and senate house to all the Greeks that visited Rome. "Life of Lucullus."

the door of which might be written, “The Books of Charles Haliday and his friends.” As the materials grew, so grew the difficulty of selecting and framing an account. Other occupations also interfered.

It seemed as if I had now gone through every depository. I had got a tolerably clear view of that great work, the Transplantation of a Nation, which the Commissioners of the Parliament found it such a labour to execute. But to express the despondency I felt at attempting to describe it, I might almost use the language of the Commissioners themselves in effecting

¹ Rabelais inscribed in all his books the following :—“Francisci Rabelæsi, medici, καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ φιλων.” Notwithstanding his devotion to commerce, there are to be found valuable papers from Mr. Haliday on the early history of Dublin and its port in the “Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.” His researches into the history of the Danes of Ireland would be a most important addition to the history of the kingdom.¹

¹ Charles Haliday died on the 14th of September, 1866. He left his library and all he had to his wife, and directed that his body should be borne by his servants to Old Monkstown Churchyard, and that no stone should ever be placed over his grave. His wife, mindful of his wishes, sometimes expressed in conversation, though not in his will, that his books might be kept together in some Public Library, gave them, shortly after his death, to the Royal Irish Academy, and thus raised a nobler and more enduring memorial of his name and character than any marble monument.

The extent and value of the gift may be judged from this, that the Pamphlets number 29,000. There are 21,997, in 2211 volumes in octavo, uniformly bound in one series; and about 7000 pamphlets, quarto, of very early date, unbound. There are, besides, all the best works on Ireland, and broadsides, ballads, and a mass of rare and curious materials for the student of Irish history, ancient and modern. Also a fine Collection of works on early Danish and Norwegian affairs.

it—"The children were now come to the birth, and much was expected and desired, but there was no strength to bring forth."¹

In the beginning of the year, 1864, however, the Earl of Charlemont intrusted me with the care of the noble collection of books, coins, and papers in Charlemont House, Dublin, formed by his grandfather, James, first Earl of Charlemont, a man no less distinguished in arts than for patriotism—the General in Chief of the Irish Volunteers. The library was a rich one (particularly in early English and Italian literature); but, as I had had constant access to so many fine Public Libraries, I had no expectation of meeting with anything in print that had not come under my notice. What, then, was my surprise to find twelve thick quarto volumes, in old sheepskin covers, comprising the London weekly newspapers between 1641 and 1659, the same substantially in form as those of the present day. Each paper has a leading article (those of the year 1650, for instance, have "Young Tarquin," for their subject, sometimes called "the Scotch King," nicknames for Charles II., to render him odious to the English), proceedings in Parliament and the Law Courts, and correspondence from Paris, Sweden, Rome, &c., and Ireland—the letters from Ireland supplying some of those lively touches that such contemporary accounts alone can give.

¹ See at p. 103, *post*.

It was plain that all the information that could be hoped for had now been obtained ; and if not brought forth the subject might sleep for another period as long as the last—some of the information might, perhaps, be buried for ever with the possessor.¹ Much of it had been collected with the view of being able some time or other to treat the subject of the Settlement of landed property in Ireland, historically considered, before the body of the Bar ; but as neither of the two chairs founded by the Benchers had the law of real property allotted to it, and still wishing to interest my own profession in a favourite pursuit, a select audience of them was addressed.² The interest

¹ "When a learned man dies," said the Master of the Temple, in his speech at the grave of the great jurisconsult, John Selden, in 1654, in the Temple Church—"when a learned man dies, much learning dies with him;" adding, "If learning could have kept a man alive, our brother had not died."—Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses," vol. ii., "John Selden," p. 134. Folio. London : 1712.

² This lecture was delivered on the 9th of June, 1864, at the Four Courts, Dublin. The following was the notice issued :—

"THE CROMWELLIAN SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND.

"A lecture, to be based on Acts and Ordinances of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, on unpublished Orders and Declarations of the Lord Deputy and Council for the Affairs of Ireland, and on other original sources. To be illustrated by transcript maps of Strafford's Survey, taken in 1637, on occasion of the confiscation of Connaught and part of Tipperary; also by transcripts of the Down Survey, for setting down the regiments of the Army of the Parliament of England, by troops and companies, in 1654 and

and appreciation shown by men so well qualified to judge gave assurance that the subject could not be without interest to the public.

JOHN P. PRENDERGAST.

3, Tower Terrace, Sandymount, Dublin,
May 1, 1865.

1655; by original certificates of Adventurers' allotments, and by conveyances from the soldiers of whole troops and companies of their debentures to their officers; likewise by coloured maps, showing, in different tints, the baronies assigned in Connaught for the new settlements of the ancient nobility, gentry, and farmers of the Irish nation, corresponding in character to their old habitations in the three other provinces from whence they were transplanted; and showing the division of those three provinces between the Adventurers, for their advances towards putting down the rebellion, and between the officers and soldiers for arrears of pay."

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CORRIGENDUM.

At p. 197, n., for *Prædia Cæsar Italæ an est tellure daturus*, read
Prædia Cæsar an est Italæ tellure daturus.

THE CROMWELLIAN SETTLEMENT
OF
IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE PLANTATION OF IRELAND FROM THE FIRST INVASION OF THE
ENGLISH UNDER KING HENRY II. TO THE SETTLEMENT EFFECTED
BY CROMWELL.

“THE Irish are one of the most ancient nations,” says Spenser, “that I know of at this end of the world;” and come of “as mighty a race as the world ever brought forth.”¹

They belong to that great Gaelic or Celtic race that ages ago inhabited Erin, Britain, Gaul, and the northern part of Spain.

Men of big hearts, and big bodies,² the Gauls were long the terror of Rome. Bursting over the Alps, they sacked the city (B. C. 388). Camillus paid a ransom for it, and they retired; and Camillus got the name of Second founder of Rome. Others of them, following the course of the Danube, burst into

¹ “View of the State of Ireland,” written by Edmund Spenser, Esq., in the year 1596, pp. 26 and 32. Folio. Printed at Dublin: 1633.

² “Ingentes animos ingenti corpore versant”—The men of Tipperary are said to have hearts as big as bulls, and to their foes as fierce; but to woman or friend as tender as a thrush’s.

Greece, and attacked the Temple of Delphi for its treasures (B. C. 279). Another body crossed over into Asia Minor. Three of their tribes divided the country among them. Antiochus at length put a stop to their attacks on the Greek cities,¹ and confined them to the central mountains of Asia Minor; for this he got the title of Soteer, or Saviour (B. C. 277). There they long dwelt, the only free people amid nations of wealthy and luxurious slaves. The chiefs of the clans met yearly on a plain, surrounded by ancient oaks. Here St. Jerome found them speaking their own language, six hundred years after their first settlement. Of these were "the Galatians," or Celts, to whom St. Paul addressed his Epistle.

About one hundred years before the birth of Christ, the Cimbric Gauls again threatened Rome. Marius, fresh from his conquest at Carthage, defeated them. It bespeaks the greatness of the peril that the Romans gave him for this victory the name of Third founder of Rome. They were a warlike race. Whoever wanted to buy headlong courage hired the Gauls. They were in the pay of Carthage; they were the chosen soldiers of Pyrrhus, that king of blasted triumphs, who loved fighting for fighting's sake. It was in going to the rescue of his Gaulish troops, overmatched in the market-place of Argos, that an old woman killed him in one of its narrow streets, by a tile thrown from the roof. Vast in their hopes, noisy, rhetorical, laughers, talkers, sympathetic,—such is the character of the early race. "The Gauls march openly to their end," says Strabo, "and are thus easily circumvented."

Some people seem always disposed to side with the power-

¹ See the touching song, in Greek, of three young Ionian ladies of Miletus, who voluntarily quitted life rather than meet these Gauls :—

" Then let us hence, Miletus dear! Sweet native land, farewell!
The insulting wrongs of lawless Gauls we fear whilst here we dwell."

Bohn's "Greek Anthology," translated, p. 449. 12mo. London : 1852.

ful; but the Gauls, according to the same author, more readily took part with the weak and injured.

Cæsar, meditating schemes for the overthrow of the aristocratical power in Rome, exercised his armies in subduing the Gauls. Having desolated a country, the Romans set about civilizing it. They established on the ruins of ancient Gaulish freedom a Roman government and a bastard Roman civilization.

They gave the Gauls baths, circuses, and forums; but they took away from them their arms and the management of their own affairs. Their best citizens were withdrawn from them, to seek their fortunes at the capital of the world. Dearly did they pay for their civilization. Large landed estates, which had ruined Italy, now ruined Gaul.¹ Weighed down with taxes, and the overpowering shadow of the empire, the Gauls of France in their wretchedness actually welcomed the irruption of the barbarians.²

The Britons, in the course of 400 years of Roman government, were reduced to similar weakness. The descendants of those warriors that startled Julius Cæsar with their enthusiastic bravery and contempt of death, were unable to strike in their own defence, when the Roman armies withdrew to the Continent to support the crumbling empire. When the Irish of Caledonia invaded them, the Britons could do nothing but "groan," and finally called in the Saxons to defend them. It was the same with Spain—this country, that so long maintained itself against the Romans, was overrun by the Vandals, and partitioned in two years. It was the same wherever the

¹ "Latifundia perdidere Italiam; jam vero et provincias." C. Plin. Secundi, Nat. Hist. lib. xvii. 7.

² For an account of the Gauls, see Michelet, "Histoire de France," b. i., cc. 1-3; Amadée Thierry, "Histoire des Gaules," 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1857.

Roman power prevailed. Italy, and Rome itself, Gaul, Spain, Britain, were overrun by hordes of barbarians.

Huns, Alans, Vandals, Burgundians, Goths, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Lombards, Saxons, Franks, poured over Western Europe, like wave succeeding wave. Whole countries were depopulated ; their names were changed, their laws and languages lost ; the survivors became the farm slaves of the conquerors, to be taxed, worked, and flogged at the will of their masters. These conquerors began to fight amongst themselves ; the strong ones knew no law but their own will, limited only by their power. They built themselves castles on the heights, clad themselves in iron, and compelled each man to be either of their band or to be their victim. The earlier invaders resigned to some later tyrant of the neighbourhood the allotments they had carved out for themselves with their own swords and held independent of any superior. They took them back from him as his tenants on the condition of serving him as his followers either in robbing, or in defending him from being robbed, he on his part yielding them protection.¹ So dreadful a descent to a man of a free spirit, that the Comte d'Avesnes, when he found himself called vassal of the Count of Mainault, the blood rushed out of his eyes and ears—he had burst his big heart, and he fell dead.² This was the feudal system, the foundation of the law of real property in Europe, modified in the course of centuries, by the growth of towns, by the spread of intelligence, by the Crusades ; happily extinguished utterly in France by the Revolution of 1789, and wherever the French army carried the Code Napoleon with its abolition of settlements or *quasi-entails*, by deed or will, and its freer diffusion of property in land, accom-

¹ Robertson, "History of the Emperor Charles V.," preliminary chapter and appendix. ib.

² Michelet, "La Sorciere," p. 46, n. 12mo. Paris : 1867.

panied by general self-respect, and increase of national well-being.

Britain from her remoteness, and by being an island, was not subject to so many invasions as the Continent of Europe. She fell, however (A. D. 450) to one of the fiercest of the barbarian nations, the Saxons. They were possessed in the highest degree of the Land hunger that made the invasions of these northern hordes so terrible beyond all former conquests. They seized the houses and farms of the Romanized Britons, exterminated them and their language, and the very names of their towns and districts, and drove the survivors behind the River Severn ; and there they shut them up among the mountains of Cambria, surrounded by the Severn and the sea, and further secured on the land side by the dyke called Offa's Dyke, just as their descendants, one thousand years later, penned up the Irish in Connnaught behind the Shannon.

Six hundred years after the settlement of the Saxons in Britain, another race of pirates, who had issued in their boats from the fiords and bays of Norway and the Baltic, sailed up the Seine. They made themselves masters of Neustria, took wives of the native race, and became the French of Normandy. Thence William the Conqueror led his French and Flemish followers into England. These French of Normandy reduced this great English nation to such slavery, that they seized the entire lands and government of England, made the inhabitants their serfs, taxable and floggable at their will, until it became a disgrace to be called an Englishman.¹

The English peasantry, deprived of the protection of their native gentry and national Government, took the only means they had to make themselves respected : they cut the throats

¹ " Ut Anglum vocari foret opprobrio." Matthew of Paris, b. i., c. 12.

of the worst of their foreign landlords whenever they caught them unawares in byways and thickets.¹ As no one would turn informer (for national hatred is the firmest bond of association and secrecy), the vill or townland was then fined where a Frenchman was found murdered. To escape this fine, the English peasantry used to cut off the poor gentleman's nose, slit his cheeks, and so disfigure the corpse, that no one could know whether it was French or English. This practice is alluded to in the ballad of "Robin Hood and Sir Guy of Gisborne," where, after Robin has slain Sir Guy, the ballad proceeds,—

"Then Robin pulled out an Irish knife,
And knicked Sir Guy in the face,
That he was never of woman born
Could know whose head it was."

It was then enacted that the corpse should be deemed French, unless a jury found it was only an Englishman. This was called the presentment of "Englischerie." The French who ruled England charged the English peasantry with treachery and murder as characteristic of their race. They said that abroad over the wide extent of Germany, inhabited by so many races, whenever any very atrocious deed was committed,

¹ "Black Book of the Exchequer," by Richard Fitz Nigel (or Lenoir), afterwards Bishop of Ely, written in 24th of Henry II., A. D. 1172, in the introduction to Madox's "History and Antiquities of the Exchequer," vol. i., p. 390. 2 vols. 4to. London : 1769. It has been truly said—

"Qui de ses sujets est häi,
N'est pas seigneur de son pays."

"The lord whose tenants cannot well endure him,
Finds no place in his country to secure him."

See Randle Cotgrave's French and English Dictionary, A. D. 1610, at the word "Seigneur." Howell's edit. Folio. London : 1673.

it was common to hear people say, “Perfidious Saxon!”¹ But the English peasantry had no natural taste for murder. They sheltered and protected the man that avenged his own wrongs with spirit, as in some degree the champion of their cause and race ; feeling, perhaps, that if it was not for shooting a gentleman now and then, there would be no living in the country for a poor man. This law (and probably these insults and murders) lasted till the reign of Edward III. Then, when the services of the English bowmen were wanted to bring back the revolted French provinces under the hated rule of England,² they ceased from these national insults, and no

¹ “Who dare compare the English, the most degraded of all races under heaven [says Giraldus Cambrensis], with the Welsh ? In their own country they are the serfs, the veriest slaves of the Normans. In ours who else have we for our herdsmen, shepherds, cobblers, skinners, cleaners of our dog kennels, ay, even of our privies, but Englishmen ? Not to mention their original treachery to the Britons, in turning upon them in spite of their oath and engagements, after being hired to defend them, they are to this day so given to treachery and murder, that whenever,” &c. The concluding words in the Latin of Giraldus are—“Unde et in Teutonico regno quotiens enormiter quis delinquare videtur, de natione quacunque, quasi proverbialiter in suo vulgari dici solet *Untrue Saz*, hoc est, infidelis Saxo.” Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, edited by J. S. Brewer, M. A., vol. iii., p. 27. 8vo. Longman & Co.: 1863.

² “The English,” says Carte (alluding to the brutal insolence displayed in the debates in the Parliament of England upon the Live Irish Cattle Importation Prohibition Bill, in 1666, which he says was urged out of wantonness, and a resolution taken to domineer over that distressed kingdom), “never understood governing their provinces, and have put them under a necessity of casting off their government whenever an opportunity offered.” “Life of James, Duke of Ormond,” vol. ii., p. 317. And he had seen the treaties made by the provinces of Guienne, Poictou, Anjou, &c., with the Kings of France, when by the intolerable pride of the English they had been forced to throw off their yoke. In these they expressly stipulated, “that in any distress of the affairs of France they should never be delivered back into the power of the English.” Id., ib. And the people thus injured and insulted in Ireland, in 1666, by the Parliament of England, were their own blood and nation, the Adventurers and Soldiers not ten years settled in the country.

doubt found the English peasantry possessed of bravery, truth, and all the virtues under the sun.

These French conquerors were settled one hundred years in England before they invaded Ireland. A body of them, principally Flemings, had settled in the southern part of Wales along the Bristol Channel, round by St. David's Head, from whence Ireland was in view.

A party of these men, by way of private adventure, sailed over to the aid of the King of Leinster, then at war with the neighbouring Irish kings. The contingent they brought was small in number compared to the Irish army which they joined; but better arms, and discipline acquired in foreign war and in maintaining the rule of conquerors over the English they had enslaved, gave the victory to the side they espoused. Their leader married the King's daughter, and received as her dowry the kingdom of Leinster; his followers obtained estates in the same district; and, an opening being thus made, the French prince then ruling in England followed, with an army of French and Flemings, and established his rule in Ireland.

The country to which the invaders had now arrived struck them as another world.¹ The rest of western Europe had been for more than a thousand years enslaved, first to the Romans, then to the northern hordes; so that the Feudal system, which is founded on the conquest and colonization of the country by an army of foreigners, had come to be considered as the natural state.

Ireland, however, lying on the verge of the western world in the Atlantic, separated from Britain by the unquiet Irish

¹ "Thus separated from the rest of the known world, and in some sort to be distinguished as another world." — Giraldus, "Topographia Hiberniae," b. i., chap. 2.

Sea, scarcely calm for three days in summer,¹ had escaped Roman and feudal thraldom.

Tacitus had often heard Agricola, his father-in-law, commander of the Roman forces in Britain, say that the country could be conquered and held by one legion, and that the conquest of it much concerned the interests of the Romans in Britain; for the neighbourhood of a free country rendered the Britons more difficult to govern. It would be well, therefore, that freedom should be as it were taken out of sight, and the Roman armies be seen everywhere.

To this end he kept a Mac Murrogh² in his camp, and moved a legion to the coast of Wales, watching for some opportunity; but the exigencies of the empire called the Roman forces home without having invaded Ireland.³ So that when the companions of Strongbow landed, in the reign of King Henry II., they found a country such as Cæsar found in Gaul 1200 years before; the inhabitants divided into tribes on the system of clansmen and chiefs, without a common government, suddenly confederating, suddenly dissolving, with Brehons, Shannahs, Minstrels, Bards, and Harpers, in all unchanged, except that for their ancient Druids they had got Christian priests. Had the Irish only remained honest Pagans, holding, no matter who might tell them to the contrary, that true religion was to hate one's enemies, and to fight for one's country,⁴ Ireland perhaps had been unconquered still. Round

¹ Giraldus, "Topographia Hiberniæ," b. ii., chap. 1.

² "Agricola, expulsum seditione domesticâ, unum ex regulis gentis excepterat, ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat."—Tacitus, "Life of Agricola."

³ "Life of Agricola."

⁴ When the Greek warrior was told by the priest that there appeared no favourable omens or signs, which in that day stood instead of the voice of the Church and the interpretation of Scripture, he answered—

"Without a sign, his sword the brave man draws,
And asks no omen but his country's cause."

the coast strangers had built seaport towns, either traders from the Carthaginian settlements in Spain, or outcasts from their own country, like the Greeks that built Marseilles.¹ At the time of the arrival of the French and Flemish adventurers from Wales, they were occupied by a mixed Danish and French population, who supplied the Irish with groceries, including the wines of Poitou,—the latter in such abundance, that they had no need of vineyards.²

Unlike England, then covered with castles on the heights, where the French gentlemen secured themselves and their families against the hatred of the churls and villeins, as the English peasantry were called, the dwellings of the Irish chiefs were of wattle or clay. It is for robbers and foreigners to take to rocks and precipices for security; for native rulers there is no such fortress as justice and humanity.

The Irish, like the wealthiest and highest of the present day, loved detached houses, surrounded by fields and woods. Towns and their walls they looked upon as tombs or sepulchres, where man's native vigour decays, as the fiercest animals lose their courage by being caged.³ They wore woollen garments much in the present fashion, and disdained to case themselves in iron, thinking it honourable to fight naked, as it was called, with the mailed French of Normandy and their Flemish and English followers, just as the Gauls fought naked with the well-armed soldiers of Rome.⁴

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis says the towns were built by the Ostmen, "Topography of Ireland," Distinction iii., chap. 43. But, as Tacitus says the ports of Ireland were better known to merchants than those of England, the account here given is the more probable one.

² Giraldus Cambrensis, Distinction i., chap. 5.

³ This was the feeling of the ancient Germans.—Gibbon, chap. xix.

⁴ Sentleger, Lord Deputy, giving Henry VIII. a description of such troops as he might command out of Ireland to France, after describing the galloglasses, says:—"The other sort, called kerne, are naked men but only their shirts and



The ~~Irish~~ fond of music, poetry, and genealogy, and the professors of these arts in each tribe or clan had land hereditarily allotted to them. In the spirited character of the Irish the new settlers found themselves in the presence of a people of original sentiments and institutions, the native vigour of whose mind had not been weakened by another mind. Nothing surprised the invaders more than the natural boldness and readiness of the Irish in speaking and answering even in the presence of their chieftains and princes, accustomed as the invaders were to the servile habits of the English, produced, as Giraldus says, either by long slavery, or (more probably, he adds) by the innate dulness of men of Saxon and German stock.¹

They were equally astonished at the freedom and familiarity of the Irish gentry with their poorer followers, so different from the haughty reserve of an aristocracy of foreign descent towards the lower classes of a subject nation reduced by conquest to the state of villeins and serfs. Free by nature, the Irish were followers of nature and freedom in all things.

Unlike most other nations of the world, the Irish did not bind up their infants in swaddling clothes.² It required the

small coats, and many times when they came to the bicker [fight] but bare naked saving their shirts to hide their privities," p. 444. State Papers (Ireland), H. VIII., vol. ii., Paper 385. In the battle with Lucius *Æ*Emilius, the young chiefs of the *Gesatæ* stripped themselves naked, except only their collars and armlets of gold.—Polybius, b. ii., chap. 2.

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, "Description of Wales," b. i., c. 15; but the same remark was applicable to the Irish even in a greater degree.

² Such was the custom of the Jews:—"And when I was born, I drew in the common air, and fell upon the earth . . . and the first voice which I uttered was crying . . . I was nursed in swaddling clothes." . . . Wisdom of Solomon, chap. 7. And of the Romans:—"Hominem tantum nudum, et in nudâ humo natali die [natura] abjicit ad vagitus statim et ploratum. Ab hoc lucis rudi-
mento, . . . vincula excipiunt et omnium membrorum nexus: itaque feliciter

lapse of ages, and the burning eloquence of Rousseau, to induce the world to follow the practice of the Irish, who never went wrong in this respect; so true is the saying that he who follows nature never goes out of the way. We learn from Giraldus, that the Irish midwives did not raise the new-born babe's nose, nor shape its face, nor stretch and swathe its little legs. Nature, he says, was in that country allowed to adjust the limbs she had given birth to; and, as if to prove that what she was able to form she does not cease to watch over, it was found that she gave growth and proportion to the Irish until they arrived at perfect vigour, tall and handsome.¹ And, being never swathed in infancy, their limbs had a freer turn, and their countenances a more liberal air.

The harp that had long been silent in Gaul, and was heard in Britain only in the mountains of Wales, was universally played in Ireland; and the gaiety of the airs, and the skill of the artists, astonished and delighted those accustomed to the slower airs of the Welsh.²

They amused themselves with hurling, the men of one district playing against those of another—the prize probably, as in later times, being often some fair girl, arranged to be the bride of the favourite youth of the winning side.³

natus, jacet, manibus pedibusque devinctis, flens animal cæteris imperaturum, et a suppliciis vitam auspicatur, unam tantum ob culpam quia natum est."—C. Plinius, lib. vii., chap. i. "Man is the only animal that nature flings down on the bare ground naked on the day of his birth, to begin life with cries and tears. On his entrance into light every limb is chained and bound; and there lies this little weeping animal that is to command all others, born under these happy auspices, and begins its life in chains and punishment, guilty only of being born." An infant swaddled as of old, can be likened to nothing but a mummy case or a chrysalis.

¹ "Topography of Ireland," Distinction iii., chap. 10.

² Ibid., chap. 11.

³ "There is a very ancient custom here [county of Tipperary] for a number of country neighbours among the poor people to fix upon some young wo-

The great body of the people were of pastoral habits. The different families used the tribal lands in common, following their herds from the winter feeding grounds to the summer pastures in the mountains, shifting their quarters as the need of fresh pasturage for their cows required, and building for themselves light booths of boughs of trees, covered with long strips of green turf.

The tillage ground of each tribe, near which they seem to have had dwellings a little more durable than their moveable summer huts in the mountains, was annually divided among the families by the Caunfinny, according to their stock and requirements.

But, though the great body of the people had no separate properties, the chief families had portions appropriated to them in perpetuity. There were also lands appointed as well for the elected chief, as others for the Tanist who was to succeed him ; other portions were also enjoyed hereditarily by the Brehons, and bards, and physicians of the tribe. The chief also was entitled to tributes of victuals, and certain of his dependents

man that ought, as they think, to be married. They also agree upon a young fellow as a proper husband for her. This determined, they send to the fair one's cabin, to inform her that on the Sunday following she is to be horsed, that is, carried in triumph on men's backs. She must then provide whiskey and cider for a treat, as all will pay her a visit after mass for a hurling match. As soon as she is horsed, the hurling begins, on which the young fellow appointed for her husband has the eyes of all the company fixed on him : if he comes off conqueror, he is certainly married to the girl ; but if another is victor, he as certainly loses her, for she is the prize of the victor."—Vol. ii., p. 250, "A Tour in Ireland in the years 1776, 1777, 1778," by Arthur Young. 8vo. Dublin: 1780. See also his account of Irish dancing, *ibid.*; but, with the advance of English power and English religion,

"These healthful sports that graced the happy scene,
Lived in each look, and brightened all the green,
These, far departing, seek a kinder shore,
And rural mirth and manners are no more."

were bound to entertain him and his company for stated times in the year.

But the Irish knew no such thing as tenure, nor forfeiture, nor fixed rent; at this they repined, though willing to offer such tribute of victuals as was required, and to let their chieftains eat them almost out of house and home: hence the saying, "Spend me, but Defend me."¹

The treaty between Henry II. and Roderick, King of Connaught, entered into at Windsor, three years after the king's return from his "Veni, vidi, vici," visit to Ireland, as Sir John Davis styles it, justifies his ridicule of the nature of the conquest attributed to him.

By that instrument, signed on O'Connor's behalf, as King of Connaught, and Chief King of Ireland, by two of the Pope's new archbishops of Ireland, O'Connor is made to become the King's liegeman, and to be King of Connaught, and Chief King of Ireland, under Henry II. He undertakes that the Irish shall yield the King of England annually one merchantable hide for every ten cows in Ireland, which O'Connor is to collect for him through every part of Ireland, except that which is in the possession of King Henry II. and his barons, being Dublin, Meath, and Leinster, with Waterford as far as Dungarvan. The rest of the kings and people of Ireland are to enjoy all their lands and liberties as long as they shall continue faithful to the King of England, and pay this tribute through the hands of the King of Connaught.²

Two systems were thus established side by side in Ireland,

¹ Spenser says, "Coigny is in common use amongst landlords of the Irish to have a common spending upon their tenants . . . neither in this was the tenant wronged, for it was an ordinary and known custom . . . for they were never wont (and yet are loth) to yield any certain rent but only such spendings; for their common saying is, 'Spend me, but Defend me.' " "A View of the State of Ireland," by Edmund Spenser, Esq., in the year 1596.

² Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. i., p. 31. Folio. London: 1816.

the Feudal and the Brehon systems ; for the Irish, as Sir John Davis remarks, merely became tributaries to the King of England, preserving their ancient Brehon law, and electing their chiefs and tanists, making war and peace with one another and ruling all things between themselves by this law, until the reign of Queen Elizabeth ;¹ and this, as Spenser remarks, not merely in districts entirely inhabited by Irish, but in the English parts. He speaks as an eye-witness, having seen their meetings on their ancient accustomed hills, where they debated and settled matters between family and family, township and township, assembling in large numbers, and going, according to their custom, all armed.²

There, surrounded by the Irish lords and gentlemen and commonalty, seated on the accustomed stone, or under some ancient tree, the Brehon gave his judgment according to the Brehon code, formed partly of Irish customs, and partly of maxims culled from the Roman Digest.³

Campion, an English Jesuit, from Oxford, who travelled in Ireland in Queen Elizabeth's day, saw their schools of Brehon law ; the rising Bretons, stretched at full length, conning their tasks, and learning by rote fragments of Roman and Irish law, at which they continued for many years.⁴ Spenser admits

¹ "A Discoverie of the State of Ireland, and the true Cause why that Kingdom was never entirely subdued until the Beginning of His Majesties [James I.] most happy Reign," p. 603. London : 1613.

² "View of Ireland," pp. 421, 500.

³ Sir James Ware, "Antiquities of Ireland," chap. viii.

⁴ "They speak Latin like a vulgar language, learned in their common schools of leachcraft and law, whereat they begin children and hold on sixteen or twenty years, conning by rote the aphorisms of Hippocrates and the Civil Institutes, and a few other parings of these two faculties. I have seen them where they kept school, ten in some one chamber, grovelling upon couches of straw, their books at their noses, themselves lying prostrate, and so to chaunt out their lessons by piecemeal, being the most part lusty fellows of twenty-five years and upwards."—p. 18, Edmund Campion's "Account of Ireland," written in May,

that their decisions had great show of equity. Stanihurst, a contemporary of Spenser's, had witnessed the breaking up of their meetings, and seen the crowd in long lines coming down the hills in the wake of each chieftain, he the proudest that could bring the largest company home to his evening supper.¹

It was from a priest who had once been a Brehon that Sir John Davis, in 1610, received the treatise on "Corbes and Herenachs";² and few who have read his account of the first assizes held for the county Fermanagh, in the ruins of the abbey, in the island of Lough Erne, will forget the aged Brehon of the Maguires drawing from his bosom with trembling hand the ancient roll, and refusing to part with it until the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, had given him his hand and faith that it should be restored to him.³ It was only at this period of the reign of King James I. that the practice of the Brehon law was forbidden in Ireland;⁴ for the Statutes of Kilkenny, passed in the 40th of Edward III., only prohibited the use of it in ruling differences between the English. The Irish had no other, as they were denied the use of the English law. But after the subduing of Tyrone's rebellion, the English judges, who had hitherto gone their circuits round the Pale, were sent all round Ireland to administer English law; and the practice of the Irish code was superseded, and declared to be no law, but a lewd custom.

At the date of the Treaty of Windsor the invaders had planted themselves only on the east coast of Ireland; and King

¹ Ricardus Stanihurst, "De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis," p. 37. 4to. Antwerp: 1584.

² "Letter to Robert Earl of Salisbury, touching the State of Monaghan, Fermanagh, and Cavan; wherein is a Discourse concerning the Corbes and Herenachs of Ireland," 1607, p. 246. 8vo. Dublin: 1787.

p. 25 3.

⁴ In Hilary Term, 3rd James I. (A. D. 1605). See Sir J. Davis, Reports, p. 40.

Henry II. by that treaty purported to guarantee their lands to the rest of the Irish. Yet he did not hesitate, unknown probably to the Irish, to cantonize or divide Ireland among ten of his followers, who received by these grants petty kingdoms, to be divided among their comrades and followers, in the expectation that they should bring over fresh Adventurers from England, and that as they grew more numerous, they should gradually supplant the Irish, and strip them of their lands.¹

These barons and their followers all held their lands on feudal conditions, liable to homage and fealty, to aids and talliages, to wardships and marriages, to fines for alienation, to primer seisins, rents, reliefs, escheats, and forfeitures—contrivances of the stronger for exacting money from the weaker. They stood instead of legacy and succession duties and stamp duties of modern times. No man could come into his estate without paying a year's rent as a relief, or sell it or settle it without a fine for alienation.

But beyond all other feudal burthens were wardships and marriages. If a gentleman left his heir under age at his death, he could appoint no guardian : the king or superior lord (for each lord exacted from his tenants what the king exacted from him) took possession of the heir and the estate, leaving the widow to maintain the rest of the family out of her dower, while the guardian spent the rents of the estate without liability to account, often letting the castle go out of repair. As incident to the wardship, he had the right to sell it, and this gave the purchaser the disposal of the heir or heiress in marriage to the highest bidder. Thus the Earl of Lincoln gave King John 3000 marcs for the marriage of Richard de Clare

¹ Sir John Davis' "Discoverie," &c., p. 652.

in order to marry him to his eldest daughter, Matilda.¹ Geoffry de Mandeville gave him 20,000 marcs, that he might marry Isabella Countess of Gloucester, and possess her lands.² Sibella de Singera offers the king 200 marcs to marry as she likes.³ Heiresses remained in wardship to the king or their landlord until they married, no matter what their age, and when they became widows became wards again, and to marry a second time must have their landlords' consent.⁴ Thus Alice Countess of Warwick gave the king £1000 for liberty to remain a widow as long as she liked, and not to be forced by the king to marry, and for the wardship of her sons.⁵ One of the great inducements to settle in towns was the privilege conceded by almost every founder of a borough by his charter, that the burghers or citizens might marry, themselves, their sons, and daughters, and widows, without license from their lords;⁶ a license of late required on the estates of some landlords managed in the English or feudal mode in Ireland.

No man could hunt or hawk on his own estate; the game was all reserved for the king;⁷ he could not even take the young hawks in his own oaks—this was one of the liberties won and consecrated by Magna Charta. So strict a game preserver was King John, that the beasts and fowl of the forest seemed to be aware that they were under his protection. In England the country abounded with them; they would not fly from the traveller, but would only move to a short distance

¹ Preface, p. xxx. "Oblate and Fine Rolls in the Tower of London, in the Time of King John," Record Publication. 8vo. By T. D. Hardy: 1835.

² Ib.

³ Ib. xxxii.

⁴ Ib.

⁵ Ib.

⁶ See the charter of the city of Dublin and other charters, in "Cartæ Priviligia et Immunitates," Irish Record Commission. Folio.

⁷ Walter de Riddlesford offers King John (A. D. 1200) twenty marcs to have the King's confirmation of his lands, and for license to hunt the hare and the wolf. "Oblate and Fine Rolls," preface, p. ix., n.

and continue to feed.¹ This slavery the Anglo-Saxons always endured; but the Irish never knew the Forest Law or Game Law, nor could the English ever impose it on them. "If they had," says Sir John Davis, "it might have been a means of conquest; for they might have turned the Irish out of the wild places where they dwelt in freedom, and might have given them up to the beasts of chase, less hurtful, and less wild than they."²

The feudal system proceeded on the principle that the lands were all derived from the king, as the captain of a conquering army, and had been distributed by him amongst the members of it on certain conditions (the main object of which was the maintaining of the conquest), liable to be forfeited if they were not observed.

The Irish, having never undergone a feudal conquest and plantation like the rest of Europe, considered the territory as the common property and patrimony of the clans or nations—not held from any one, not liable to forfeiture, which indeed was impossible, as it was owned and occupied by them jointly or in common.

The chief families had contrived, contrary to the general principle, to appropriate some portions to themselves, divisible however at the death of the father among all the sons, legitimate and illegitimate alike. The inferior members of the tribe yielded to the chiefs milk and honey, and even money for the grazing of their cows, and were bound to maintain their lords, with their wives, sons, and daughters, their horses, servants, their dogs and dog boys, for a specified number of meals or days in their houses when they went among their

¹ See a curious account by one of the Flemish soldiers of King John's expeditionary army to Ireland, in the year 1210, "Histoire des Ducs de Normandie," vol. i., p. 109. ² vols. 8vo. Paris: 1840.

² Sir John Davis' "Discoverie," &c., p. 664.

dependents "coshering," as it was called. But they knew no such thing as rent or services in the feudal sense, as an acknowledgment of holding their land from a landlord, liable to forfeiture if not rendered.

The chief, like the baron, had his law court, but it assembled under his Brehon on the hill.¹ He had his retainers, and each of them had their kerne, or foot soldiers, ready to appear on summons, quartered on the poorer families of the tribe. He had also his "galloglasses," or soldiers by profession, mercenaries; men they were that knew not how to till the ground, to feed cattle, or to navigate ships, but whose sole profession was to fight and conquer. They were men of prodigious size, ready beyond expression at their exercises, lofty and full of menaces against the enemy; and as they marched, their pikes, heavy shod with iron, shook on their right shoulders.² The Irish custom of fosterage was in the nature of wardship; but the object being to make the young chief the beloved of his followers, he was brought up in the bosom of the family of his foster parents, who paid largely for the honour of thus bringing him up from his earliest years in the midst of them.³ Nursed up in a sense of his own importance, he became the proud and spirited head of the clan, their pride and

¹ "Other lawyers they have liable to certain families, which after the custom of the country determine and judge causes. . . . the Breighoon (as they call this kind of lawyer) sitteth him down on a bank, the lords and gentlemen at variance around about him, and then they proceed," p. 19, Edward Campion (1571).

² State Papers of Henry VIII. (Ireland), vol. ii., p. 444; and Spenser's "View of Ireland" (A. D. 1596).

³ "They love tenderly their foster children, and bequeath to them a child's portion, whereby they nourish sure friendship, so beneficial in every way that commonly 500 kine and better are given to winne a nobleman's child to foster." Ib., pp. 13-14. "Gifts of the Irishry to foster with the Earl of Kildare," pp. 70, 71, "Earls of Kildare," vol. ii., by the Marquis of Kildare. Dublin: 1860.

joy, and bound to his foster family and they to him by ties of affection stronger than those of blood.

Though their lands were thus left with the Irish, it was the design of the English Government that they should gradually come into the possession of the English, until all should be held in feudal tenure, and the feudal system be spread throughout the kingdom. With this intent, therefore, the Irish were reputed aliens and enemies, and were denied the right of bringing actions in any of the English Courts in Ireland for trespasses to their lands, or for assaults and batteries to their persons. Accordingly, it was answer enough to the action in such a case to say that the plaintiff was an Irishman:¹ unless he could produce a special charter giving him the rights of an Englishman. If he sought damages against an Englishman for turning him out of his land, for the rape² or seduction of his daughter Nora, or for the beating of his wife Devorgil, it was a good defence to say he was a mere Irishman. And if an Englishman was indicted for manslaughter, and the man slain was an Irishman, he pleaded that the deceased was of the Irish nation, and that it was no felony to kill an Irishman. For this, however, there was a fine of five marcs, payable to the king or to the lord of the manor; but mostly they killed us for nothing. If the man killed was a servant of an English-

¹ Thus in 29th Edward I., before the Justices in Eyre, at Drogheda, Thomas le Boteler brought an action against Robert de Almain for certain goods. The defendant pleaded that he was not bound to answer him, because he was an Irishman, and not of free blood. A jury was summoned, and found that the plaintiff was an Englishman, and therupon he had judgment to recover his goods. Sir J. Davis' "Discoverie," p. 639.

² A. D. 1278, Robert de la Roche and Adam Walsh, indicted for a rape of Margaret O'Rorke, pleaded "Not guilty, for that the said Margaret is an Irish-woman," which being so found by the jury, the said Robert and Adam are acquitted, p. 36, Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland. By James Morrin, Clerk of the Enrolments. 8vo. Dublin: 1862.

man, he added to the plea, that if the master should ever demand damages, he would be ready to satisfy him.¹ Not unlike those hot bloods of Charles II.'s day who ran the waiter through at a tavern with their rapiers, and threw the body out at the window, and then rang the bell for the landlord, and bade him put him in the bill.

But it was not the Irish that complained. It was only when the English claimed to kill Danes, or Ostmen as they were called, at the same cheap rate, that protests were made. Thus, Philip Mac Guthmund, by petition to King Edward I. in Parliament, declared that for the sake of five marcs payable for every Irishman killed, the grasping lords of Ireland, the king's rivals, would make the petitioner and over 400 of his race Irish. And he prays that of Englishman and Ostman he be not made Irishman, adding that it was better for the king to have 400 Englishmen than that they be made Irish by false suggestions.² And Maurice Mac Otere, for himself and 300 of his race, claimed similar protection, his ancestors having purchased the rights of Englishmen for £3000, and for proof referred to the rolls of Chancery.³

The Irish, too, were forbid to purchase land. Though the

¹ "Lastly, the mere Irish were not only accounted aliens, but enemies, and altogether out of the protection of the law, so as it was no capital offence to kill them." And then Sir J. Davis gives a record of a gaol delivery at Waterford, where "Robert Walsh, indicted of the manslaughter of John, son of Ivor Mac Gilmore, admits the slaying; but says it was no felony, because Mac Gilmore was a mere Irishman, and not of free blood: But when the master of the said John shall ask damages for the slaying, he will be ready to answer him as the law may require." "Discoverie," p. 64.

² Petitions in Parliament, 18 Edward I. [A. D. 1290]. "Selections from the Exchequer Records, illustrative of the 13th and 14th Centuries," p. 69. By Henry Cole. Record Publications. Folio. London: 1844.

³ Id., *ibid.*

English might take from the Irish, the Irish could not even by way of gift or purchase take any from the English. In every charter of English liberty, as it was called, granted to an Irishman, besides the right to bring actions in the king's courts, there was given an express power to him to purchase lands to him and his heirs;¹ without this he could not hold any so acquired. The Exchequer officers constantly held inquisitions for the purpose of obtaining a return that certain lands had been aliened to an Irishman, in order thereupon to seize them into the hands of the Crown as forfeited. Thus, by inquisition taken at Dunboyne, in the first year of King Henry VI., the lands of Moymet and Clonfane, in the county of Meath, were found forfeited; and were seized by the king's escheator, as having been aliened by Esmond Butler, son and heir of James Lord and Baron of Dunboyne, deceased, to Connor O'Mulroony and John Machan, chaplains, and their heirs, they being Irish and of Irish nation.² In 16th of Edward IV., lands near Swords, in the county of Dublin, were seized on a like inquisition, finding them to have been conveyed by Catherine Dowdal to John Belane, chaplain, an Irishman of Irish nation, that is to say, of the O'Belanes, Irishmen, and enemies to our lord the king; although O'Belane was evidently only a trustee to answer the uses of Mrs. Dowdal's will.³ The Parliament Rolls are full of such cases. They prove that no Irishman could take lands by conveyance from an Englishman; and this continued to be the law until the year 1612, when Sir John Davis framed an Act abolishing the distinction of nations.⁴ But the prohibition practically prevailed after

¹ Sir J. Davis' "Discoverie," p. 641.

² Fifth Edward IV., c. 24. Transcript of Statute Rolls, made by the Record Commissioners (1810), in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

³ Sixteenth Edward IV., c. 80. Id., ib.

⁴ "Statutes of Ireland," 11th, 12th, and 13th James I., c. v.

the passing of the Act; for, by Plantation rule, the English were forbidden, under pain of forfeiture, to convey any of the lands taken from the Irish in the extensive plantations of English made in Munster, Ulster, and Leinster, to any Irishman, and the Irish there could only alienate to English; so that the Irish must be always losing, and the English gaining, by any change. The prohibition was again extended to the whole nation by the Commonwealth Government; and when the lands forfeited for the war of 1690 came to be sold by auction at Chichester House in 1701, the Irish were declared by the English Parliament incapable of purchasing, or to hold, even as tenants, more than two acres. Shortly afterwards, another Act disqualified them for ever from purchasing or acquiring any lands in Ireland, and declared the purchase void.¹ But, notwithstanding these prohibitions, the Irish grew and increased upon the English, instead of the English upon the Irish; and the Irish customs overspread the feudal, until at length the administration of the feudal law was confined to little more than the counties lying within the line of the Liffey and the Boyne.

It may be asked how the Irish contrived to preserve their lands? In the first place, then, it is to be remembered that they kept their arms, and the whole tribe rose in war against the English of that district whence their lands had been invaded, or by whom an Irishman had been killed. They ravaged it, and made prisoner of the highest Englishman they

¹ But it was when the estate was made the property of the first Protestant discoverer, that animation was put into this law (Robinson, Justice, in *Lessee McCarthy against Hanley*, King's Bench, Hilary Term, 1771), Howard's "Property Cases," Dublin, 1775, p. 209. Discoverers then became like hounds upon the scent after lands secretly purchased by the Irish. Gentlemen fearing to lose their lands found it now necessary to conform. "Between 1703 and 1709 there were only 36 conformers in Ireland. In the next ten years (i. e. after the Discovery Act), the conformists were 150." Ib., pp. 211-12.

could take, and held him to ransom, and by this obtained a "health saute," or satisfaction to the family of the deceased.¹

Had the first English adventurers in Ireland been of one mind with the king and nobility in England, the Irish might possibly have been subdued, their lands taken from them, and the nation reduced to serfdom, or exterminated. But the early settlers learned to love the Irish, and to prefer the ease and freedom of Irish life and manners to the burdensome feudal system. The case of the leader of the first English adventurers in Ireland may serve to explain the relations of the English of Ireland with the Irish in early times.

Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, was married to an Irishwoman ; he had a large body of Irish kinsmen ; he had an army composed largely of Irishmen, and he and they had been comrades in war ; his territory was nearly sixty miles square, inhabited almost entirely by Irish. His English captains and men-at-arms, amongst whom he divided his territory in fiefs, were much in the same condition. They, many of them, took Irish wives, and they had Irish kinsmen and Irish comrades, and Irish girls were mistresses of their hearts. As Strongbow left the Kavanaghs and M'Murroughs, relations of his wife's, in possession of their lands, liable to serve him with their followers in war, so did his captains other Irish ; no difference of religion divided them ; they early learned the language of Ireland ; they gave out their sons to be fostered with heir Irish relations ; the young English heir became the pride of his foster father and his clan ; hurled with his Irish cousins ;²

¹ The payment of "Health Saute" by the English to the Irish, made high treason, 11 & 12 Edward IV., c. 5 (Unpublished Statutes).

² "It is ordained and established that the English do not henceforth use the plays which men call hurlings with great sticks and a ball upon the ground, and other plays called coitings ; but that they do apply themselves to draw the bow and throw lances, and other gentlemanlike games appertaining to arms, whereby the Irish enemies may be better checked," &c. "Statutes of Kilkenny," 40th Edward III. (A. D. 1367), s. 6.

listened with delight to the harpers, bards, and minstrels,¹ and became enamoured of Irish life, and probably of some fine Irish girl also.² The young Englishman, however, remained of his father's nation, an Englishman; and held his estate on English tenure, liable to the demands of the Exchequer for aids, reliefs, and fines. How burdensome this tenure was, may be judged from the complaints of the English of Ireland. In 1347 they complained to the king, that bad as were the "King's Irish enemies," the extortions and oppressions done by the king's officers were worse.³ But, bad as these burdens were, the law of forfeiture must have been a more constant source of disquiet. Under convictions of high treason the king could enrich himself and his courtiers with confiscated estates. The De Lacs, beggared by this law, and driven from their principalities of Meath and Ulster, induced Edward Bruce to invade Ireland. John Fitzthomas with an army of Irishmen recovered the kingdom for Edward II., but not until the greater part of it had been in possession of the invading force, supported by some of the English of Ireland, for more than a year, during which time the sitting of the courts and the administration of the feudal laws was suspended. The English of Ireland beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the metropolis took care, under various pretences, to oppose its being resumed; and thenceforth the regular administration of the English law was confined to the limits of the Pale. They represented the whole Irish nation as hostile to

¹ "Statutes of Kilkenny," sect. 15.

² "It is ordained that no alliance by marriage, gossiped, fostering of children, concubinage, or by amour, be henceforth made between the English and Irish . . . and if any shall do to the contrary, he shall have judgment of life and member as a traitor to our Lord the King." Ib., s. 2.

³ "Petitions delivered to our Lord the King of France and England, by Friar John L'Archer, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, in Ireland, and Master Thomas Wogan, sent in message by the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and Commons of the land in Ireland." "Red Book of the Exchequer of Ireland."

the English, and thereby had an excuse for keeping up their forces. These forces of kerne and gallowglasses were maintained by coyne and livery, nearly equivalent to free quarters on their tenants ; and their English tenants, being unwilling to endure this infliction, retired to England, and the lands thus deserted were granted by these great lords to Irish.¹

“The Irish enemy” now became an excuse for feudal duties neglected, and feudal payments withheld. The government of Ireland became impossible to strangers from England. The English lords of Ireland had always a means of moving the Irish to rebellion by oppressing them, or to attacks on their neighbours, or the king’s officers, by secretly egging them on.

The judges, who from the days of the first Settlement had regularly ridden their circuits in Munster to administer the feudal law, now ceased to hold assizes. The danger from the Irish enemy was alleged to be the cause, though there was no reason why the Irish should object to the administration of the law, as it was only administered between the King’s English subjects. The journey to the South lay through Kildare and Carlow, under the Dublin and Wicklow mountains, to the bridge of Leighlin, for many ages the only passage over the Barrow. These hills were inhabited by the three nations of the Tooles, the Byrnes, and the Kavanaghs, and the opposite side of the river towards Leighlin Bridge by the O’Moores, so that there was a kind of gantelope to be run between these tribes. It is alleged that the Tooles, the Byrnes, and Kavanaghs, exiled the administration of the king’s law from Munster, by preventing the judges riding their circuits past Leighlin Bridge.² But, as the English of Munster had much greater reason to fear the return of the king’s officers than the Irish,

¹ Preamble to 10 Henry VII., c. 4. Sir J. “Davis’ Discoverie,” p. 675.

² State Papers, Henry VIII. (Ireland), vol. i., p. 411. Memorial, or “A Note for the Wynning of Leynster,” A. D. 1536.

there is good reason to suspect that they were egged on by them. In Henry VIII.'s days, the Earl of Kildare was charged with having always protected these three nations, the Tooles, the Byrnes, and the Kavanaghs, whom he kept at his bidding, it was said, ready to rise and "make war behind" when any of the king's forces marched out of Dublin on any expedition which he secretly wished to counteract.¹ Now "the Irish enemy" was no nation in the modern sense of the word, but a race divided into many nations or tribes, separately defending their lands from the English barons in their immediate neighbourhood. There had been no ancient national government displaced, no national dynasty overthrown ; the Irish had no national flag, nor any capital city as the metropolis of their common country, nor any common administration of law ; nor did they ever give a combined opposition to the English. The English, coming in the name of the Pope, with the aid of the Irish Bishops, and with a superior national organization, which the Irish easily recognised, were accepted by the Irish. Neither King Henry II. nor King John ever fought a battle in Ireland.

In the early days of English rule in Ireland, the Irish generally lived as tributaries to the king. During the reign of Henry III. and in the beginning of that of Edward I. the kings and captains of nations received regular writs of summons, in precisely the same terms and by the same cursitor or courier as the De Burgos, the Butlers, the Le Poers, to attend the war in Wales or Scotland, or yield the king an aid in money.² The chief or royal tribe in each of the five provinces became allies of the English at the first invasion, as is plain from their receiving the rights of Englishmen to bring

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII. (Ireland), vol. i., p. 411. Memorial, or "A Note for the Wynning of Lynster," A. D. 1536.

² See some of these writs, "Liber Munerum Publicorum," vol. i., part iv., pp. 6, 12. 2 vols. Folio. London : 1826.

and defend actions. They were legally known as the Five bloods, being the O'Neills of Ulster, the O'Connors of Connaught, the O'Melaghlinns of Meath, the O'Briens of Munster, and the M'Murroughs of Leinster.¹ Different encroachments of English adventurers caused partial insurrections. In Bruce's invasion the Northern Irish formed a more general confederacy, and, owing to their situation, established their independence; but the Irish tenants and kerne of the Fitzgeralds, the Butlers, the De Burgos, the Roches, the Barrys, adhered to their English chiefs in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught.

No soldiers came from England, and it was Irish troops that recovered the dominion of Ireland for the English.² But from thenceforth all the Irish were called in law the king's Irish enemy. So that the very men who filled the troops levied by the English Deputy for service against the Irish were known as such. Thus O'Hanlon and O'Mulloy, who claimed to be hereditary standard bearers of Ulster, and bore the Banner of Queen Elizabeth's army as soon as it crossed the Boyne on alternate days, on its march against Hugh O'Neill,³ were Irish enemy. It meant that they were excluded from claiming any rights or privileges under English law; and was in fact a far less injurious disqualification than that of Irish Papist in the last century. The English of Ireland intermarried with them, fostered with them, and made alliances with them, though the Statutes of Kilkenny made it high treason so to do. But as the English law was now confined within the limits of the English Pale, and no judges went circuit beyond the Barrow, the prohibition was nugatory. If it is only remembered that from the reign of King John no army ever came out of England except the expeditionary army of

¹ Sir John Davis' "Discoverie," p. 639.

² Ib., p. 674.

³ Sir Richard Cox, "Hibernia Anglicana," vol. i., p. 407.

Richard II., and that the few forces subsequently sent over, until the 29th of Queen Elizabeth, were to subdue rebellions of the English,¹ it will be evident that the term Irish enemy simply meant that the Irish had no legal rights, and that sooner or later they should lose their lands to the English.

The English in all the provinces beyond the Pale saw with joy the regular administration of the English law confined within the line of the Liffey and the Boyne. Many of them had acquired lands not held from the Crown, which they feared would be seized.² Others had large arrears of fines due by them, for which their estates were liable to forfeiture. These men boldly banished the king's sheriffs, escheators, and pursuivants, by making it dangerous for them to approach. The Burkes or De Burgos were in this class. They had lands which the king claimed by title derived by the intermarriage of Lionel, son of Edward III., with the heir female of William De Burgo, Earl of Ulster. Lionel came over with a considerable force to seize these lands from the Burkes, but did not march into Connaught. Thenceforth they employed every effort to prevent the king's writ running in Connaught. In this sense, and through fear of losing their lands, they became "the king's English rebels."³ They allied themselves for this purpose with "the king's Irish enemies," but they had no intention of rebelling to eject the English out of Ireland; they were too proud of their English blood. To the eye they looked like Irish, for they dressed and spoke as Irishmen, yet they are described as "tall men who boast themselves to be of the king's blood, and berith hate to the Irishrie."⁴ But be-

¹ Sir J. Davis' "Discoverie," p. 617.

² Ib., p. 676.

³ Deputy and Council to the King, A. D. 1610. State Papers, Henry VIII. (Ireland), vol. ii., p. 307.

⁴ Id., ib., vol. i., p. 327.

sides English rebels, the king had his English lieges beyond the Pale. The English lieges beyond the Pale acknowledged themselves to be the king's subjects, on his peace and war, and held their Irish tenants and forces ready to appear in the field on the king's side. But they had for the most part ceased to pay feudal dues, as there were no sheriffs or escheators to enforce them; though the Butlers of Kilkenny, and the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, as they were about the king's court, and aspired to be lord deputies and treasurers, seem to have sued out livery, and paid some of the feudal charges.

The English of Ireland, however, of all classes except in the neighbourhood of Dublin, had adopted the Irish language, dress, and manners, and never appeared in English apparel, except when attending Parliament or the Lord Deputy's court;¹ and no sooner home thence (or from the Court of England), than off with their English apparel, and on with their brogues and saffron shirt, and kerne's coat, and other Irish attire.²

In their justice halls, they administered March law, a mixture of the English law and the Irish law of Kincogish, the latter being a system of fines or satisfaction exacted from the

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII. (Ireland), vol. i., p. 477.

² "That the Earl of Clanricarde's sons (not without manifest consent of their father) had stolen across the Shannon, and there cast away their English habit and apparel, and put on their wonted Irish weede." Sir Henry Sidney to the Council in England (A. D. 1576), pp. 119, 120, Collins' "Memorials of the Sidney Family." 2 vols. Folio.

Patrick, the Baron of Lixnaw's eldest son, "Notwithstanding he was trained up in the Court of England, sworn servant to her Majesty, in good favour there, and appareled according to his degree, yet he was no sooner come home, but away with his English attires, and on with his brogs, his shirt, and other Irish rags, being become as verie a traitor as the veriest knave of them all."—A. D. 1856. Holinshed, "Chronicle of Ireland," p. 477..

clan or nation of the party committing the injury, payable, part to the party injured, and part to the lord who enforced it.¹

The king and statesmen of England, indignant that the feudal system had been nearly abandoned in Ireland, and that the English settlers had adopted the freer mode of life of the Irish, by an ordinance made in England in the year 1342 (15 Edw. III.), resumed—in other words, confiscated—the estates of all the great English nobility and gentry of Ireland,² intending plainly to send over colonists from England to plant such parts of their lands as the king should judge convenient, just as was done about 200 years later (in the year 1585), when the estates of the descendant of the Earl of Desmond, one of the noblemen now aimed at, were confiscated, and set out to planters from Somersetshire and Devonshire, from Cheshire and Lancashire. For this purpose the Deputy summoned the nobility and commons of Ireland to a Parliament at Dublin, largely filled with prelates and lords, and landed proprietors of English birth, who were eager, no doubt, for a reformation and improvement of Ireland, founded on a redistribution of Irish lands to English capitalists. But the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, and the rest of the English nobility possessed of Irish estates, refused to attend, and, with the citizens and burgesses of the principal towns, held a separate Parliament or Convention at Kilkenny, and remonstrated against the design. The Earl of Kildare was thereupon arrested, and the Earl of Desmond and many others indicted, their lands seized, and their titles called in, and cancelled.³ But about ten years afterwards (26th Edw. III.), their lands

¹ "The Deputie's Boke," State Papers of Henry VIII., vol. i., Paper 181, p. 447.

² Sir J. Davis' "Discoverie," p. 660.

³ Ib., pp. 660, 680.

and liberties were restored ; much, however, to the chagrin of the Parliament of England, who made the king engage not to restore them if he again got them into his hand.¹

The expedition of Lionel Duke of Clarence, the king's son, to Ireland, a few years afterwards, was a partial renewal of the same design. He claimed the greater part of Connaught from the Burkes, and other lands in other parts of Ireland, which he intended to take from the present possessors, and to plant, of course, when recovered, with settlers out of England. Preparatory to his invasion of Connaught, he assembled a Parliament at Kilkenny, where the most rigorous laws were passed against those English that had adopted Irish customs, or should adopt them for the future. Those who should take Irishwomen for wives or mistresses, or should give out their children to be fostered or reared up in Irish families—who should maintain Irish harpers, bards, rhymers, or minstrels in their halls—were to undergo various punishments. For marrying an Irish wife, or for having an Irishwoman for a mistress, the penalty was to be half hanged, shamefully mutilated and disembowelled alive, and to forfeit his estate.²

¹ Sir J. Davis' "Discoverie," p. 655.

² "The Statutes of Kilkenny, of the 40th Year of King Edward III. enacted in a Parliament held at Kilkenny, A. D. 1367, before Lionel Duke of Clarence. Now first printed. Edited by James Hardiman, M. R. I. A." 4to. Dublin. For the Irish Archaeological Society : 1843. The English of Ireland became as fond of the harp as the Irish. In the inventories of the household goods of the gentry confiscated at the Revolution of 1688, the ancient English families of the Pale are found possessed of "one Irish harpe." (W. Lynch, author of "Feudal Dignities in Ireland," Sub-Commissioner of Irish Records, "Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., p. 335.) And the Irish "Hudibras," printed in London, 1698, to ridicule and vilify the Irish, thus describes the gentlemen of the same class :—

"There was old Threicy [Tracy], and old Darcy,
Playing all weathers on the clarsey,

"It was manifest from these laws," says Sir John Davis, "that those who had the government of Ireland under the Crown of England intended to make a perpetual separation and enmity between the English settled in Ireland and the native Irish, in the expectation that the English should in the end root out the Irish." But the numerous English of Irish birth possessed of lands to which the Crown laid claim, or which were liable to forfeiture, had now nearly equal reason with the native Irish to fear the designs of the Government of England. The degenerate English, like the Burkes of the counties of Mayo and Galway, the Poers of Waterford, and others, became only more determined "English rebels." The other English beyond the Pale, though they professed allegiance to the king, were in secret equally disinclined to see the king's escheators, sheriffs, and judges resume their duties among them. They knew the value of being free from the feudal burdens of wardships, marriages, fines for alienation, and all the other taxes which it was the secondary aim of these reforms to restore; and they did not feel that hatred and contempt for their Irish tenants, neighbours, and kinsmen, required by the Statute of Kilkenny. Nor did the English who came over from England render themselves very agreeable to their countrymen settled in Ireland, or make them very anxious for any reformation that should bring a fresh accession of them from the mother country; for they were, of course, preferred to all the chief offices of the State, and they despised the Eng-

The Irish harp,—whose rusty metal
Sounds like the patching of a kettle."

Ten years afterwards it survived in Connaught, where the old Irish gentry are described as careful to have their children taught to speak Latin, write well, and play on the harp. "Discourse concerning Ireland, and the different Interests thereof; in Answer to the Exon and Barnstaple Petition." Small 4to., London: 1697-8, p. 19.

lish of the birth of Ireland. It appears from this very Statute of Kilkenny (which forbids the use of the contemptuous term), that the newly arrived English had no better name for them than "Irish Dogg,"—insolence which the English of Ireland hurled back by calling them "English hobbe" or churls.¹ The Irish marked the coarser manners, the cold reserve of the English by birth, by calling them "Buddagh Sassenach," Saxon clowns:² for they conceive it to be the mark of a gentleman to be free and affable with inferiors and equals: clowns are cold, they thought, but gentlemen courteous.³ Thus, both the English of the birth of Ireland and the native Irish had reason to dislike the reforms aimed at by the Statute of Kilkenny; but it was the English of Ireland that became the main impediment to the reconquest of Ireland, and more malicious to the English⁴—more mortal enemies than the Irish themselves,⁵ as better knowing their power and purposes.⁶

During the long wars in France, and afterwards during the civil wars of the Roses, when the English, driven back from their attempted conquests in France, turned in their lust

¹ "Also . . . that no difference of allegiance shall henceforth be made between the English born in Ireland and the English born in England by calling them English hobbe or Irish dog; but that all be called by one name, the English lieges of our Lord the King." 40th Edward III. (Irish), c. 4.

² Stanhurst, in Holinshed's "Chronicle," vol. ii., chap. 8, p. 44. Folio. London: 1586.

³ "Les vilains s'entretiennent; les nobles s'embrassent." Old French proverb.

⁴ Spenser's "View of Ireland."

⁵ Sir J. Davis' "Discoverie."

⁶ In Henry VIII.'s reign the Deputy and Council dissuade the king from seeking to confiscate Connaught, as it was "the fearing to be expelled from these their possessions," that kept M'William [the ancestor of the present Marquis of Clanricarde], and his ancestors so long English rebels." State Papers of Henry VIII. (Ireland), vol. ii., p. 309.

for land and power to rob each other, this reformation of Ireland was suspended. But no sooner were these wars over, and the Government firmly established in England, which was not until Henry VIII.'s reign, than all these projects were renewed.

At the commencement of Henry VIII.'s reign, the regular administration of the law was limited to the four counties adjacent to the capital, called the Four obedient Counties, or the English Pale. In these only were there justices or sheriffs under the king. In the rest of Ireland no judges had held assizes for more than 200 years. No escheators or sheriffs had levied the reliefs payable to the king for each succession; no fines had been paid for alienations. The estates of all the old English settlers beyond the Pale were for this reason alone liable to forfeiture.

The native Irish were in a still worse case. From the days of the first conquest, they were denied the protection and enjoyment of the English law, with the intent that the English should in the end root them out of their lands. Many of the largest English proprietors were absentees, who possessed land in both countries, and scorned to dwell in this remote and backward island.¹ In their absence, the Irish reoccupied their ancient territories. During the civil war of the Roses whole families had left Ireland for the battle fields in England, and been swept away. The Irish reposessed themselves of the deserted lands. But it was against the policy of England that any Irish should ever possess any lands that had once be-

¹ It is about twenty years since a Barrister of the Leinster Circuit, on arriving for the mess at the Club House Hotel, Kilkenny, congratulated John Walsh, the host, on the news in the papers, that a luxurious young absentee nobleman, of large estates in the county, had at length come to reside at his Irish mansion. Walsh answered,—“He, Sir? He'd as lief live in Newgate! We haven't vice enough for him.”

longed to an Englishman. About this period much of the county of Kildare was thus deserted of English, and reoccupied by Irish. The Parliament offered it to any English who would come, and inhabit it ; and as an inducement, they were to be tax-free for six years.¹ In like manner, in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, many of the native proprietors had got back into their ancient lands, abandoned by the English. This, if not remedied, would be the destruction of these counties, which (piously adds the Parliament) God forbid. For the English seem to have thought God made a mistake in giving so fine a country as Ireland to the Irish ; and for near seven hundred years they have been trying to remedy it. Sir James of Ormond was therefore commissioned to recover the lands for himself.² The Earls of Kildare subsequently had grants of all lands they could win from the Irish.³ The Irish were therefore never deceived as to the purpose of the English. And though the English Pale had not been extended for 240 years, their firm persuasion in the reign of Henry VIII. was, that the original design was not abandoned. " Irishmen be of opinion among themselves," says Justice Cusack, to the King, " that Englishmen will one day banish them, and put them from their lands for ever."⁴ How correctly they judged of the purpose of the English is now evident from the State Papers of that day. Upon the subduing of Thomas Fitzgerald's rebellion there is project after project for clearing Ireland of Irish to the Shannon.⁵ Almost all concur in proposing that the country south of Dublin, within the

¹ 28th Henry VI. (Irish), c. 35 (Unpublished Statutes).

² 8th Henry VII. (Irish), c. 25.

³ State Papers of Henry VIII. (Ireland), vol. i., p. 177.

⁴ Ibid., vol. ii., p. 326.

⁵ See Cowley's "Treatise," ibid., vol. i., pp. 323-328. Another paper thus concludes—"Consequently, the premises brought to pass, there shall no Irishrie

line of the Barrow, be inhabited exclusively by English. It was to be a base of operations against the rest of Ireland. Some even contemplated the entire extirpation of the Irish; but, luckily for the Irish, there was no precedent for it found in the chronicle of the conquest.¹ Add to this the difficulty of finding people to reinhabit it, if suddenly unpeopled. Accordingly, the chiefs and gentlemen of the Irish only were to be driven from their properties, and worn out in exile, while their lands should be given to English. The towns were to be all cleared, their walls repaired, and rendered defensible against the attacks of the exiled Irish.² And the projectors of these improvements were, of course, to be rewarded by lands thus recovered. The king, however, seems to have been satisfied with confiscating the estates of the Earl of Kildare and his family. Fierce and bloody though he was, there was something lion-like in his nature. Notwithstanding all these promptings, he left to the Irish and old English their possessions, and seemed anxious even to secure them, but failed to do so for want of time. Swarms, however, of English adven-

be on this side the water of Shennyn unprosecuted, unsubdued, and unexiled. . . . Then shall the English Pale be well 200 Iryshe miles in length, and more." Ibid., ib., p. 452.

¹ "The lande is very large, by estimation as large as Englande, so that to enhabit the whole with new inhabiteres, the number would be so great that there is no prince christened that commodiously might spare so many subjects to depart out of his regions. . . . But to enterprise the whole extirpation and totall destruction of all the Irishmen of the lande, it would be a marvillous and sumptuous charge and great difficulty, considering both the lack of enhabitors, and the great hardness and misery these Irishmen can endure, both of hunger, colde, and thirst and evill lodging, more than the inhabitauntes of any other lande. And by president of the conquest of this lande we have not heard or redde in any cronycle that at such conquestes the hole inhabitauntes of the landes have been utterly extirped and banished. Wherefore," &c. Lord Deputy and Council to the King, ibid., vol. ii., p. 176.

* Cowley's "Treatise," ibid., vol. i., p. 326.

turers were hungering and thirsting after Irish lands, and there was no difficulty in driving a high-spirited people, full of well-grounded suspicions, into rebellion. The O'Moores and O'Connors rebelled in Edward VI.'s reign. Their territories were formed by Philip and Mary into the King's and Queen's Counties, and their lands passed to English. The Earl of Desmond's great territories in Munster were forfeited in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and were set out to companies of planters out of Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire—out of Lancashire, and Cheshire—organized for defence, and to be supported by standing forces. Each new plantation produced fresh rebellions, from the pride and insolence of the new planters, the cupidity of standers-by, and the fears and resistance of the neighbouring Irish: till at length, in Hugh Earl of Tyrone's rebellion, in 1598, the most of the native Irish were engaged, and great numbers of degenerate or rebellious English.

This rebellion was subdued in the closing hours of Queen Elizabeth's life; and James I. ascended the throne with the country at his disposal.

And here, before entering on his settlement of Ireland, it may be worth inquiring what were the crimes of the Irish to cause the English for so many ages to treat them as alien enemies, to refuse them the right to bring actions in the courts set up by the English in Ireland, and to adhere to their cherished scheme of depriving the nation of their lands. The Irish gave no national resistance to the English; they had no dynasty to set up; no common government to restore; no national capital to recover. They never contemplated independence or separation. The doctrine that allegiance and protection were reciprocal was not yet established—the rights of man not yet suspected. There was no inveterate repugnance between the races; on the contrary, they were too ready

to intermarry, and the heaviest penalties could not prevent these alliances. The designs of extirpation were on the side of the English—the fears of it on the side of the Irish. The Irish only too quickly forgave the robbery of their lands. The Fitzgeralds and the Butlers soon became to them as much their natural leaders and captains as the O'Briens, the M'Carthys, and O'Neills.¹ No one ever questioned their titles. Sir J. Davis has said that the Irish, after a thousand conquests, pretended title still. This was to transfer the feelings engendered by the Plantations of the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James I. to a period when no such feelings were known. If they had entertained them, they might easily have expelled or massacred the English when the jurisdiction of the English Government was limited for 200 years to the line of the Liffey and the Boyne. No forces came from England; there was no standing army of English; yet the English lived unharmed among the Irish, as secure of their castles and lands as native Irish. Campion, Spenser, and Davis have noted with no friendly hand the faults of the Irish; but the murdering of English naturalized landlords is not in the catalogue; on the contrary, their devotion to them was unbounded.²

¹ Thus, in 1520, the Earl of Surrey urges that James Lord Butler be sent over to Ireland, as the Earl of Ormond has gout, and cannot take the field; "and his men will never go forth unless they may have the said Erl, or ellys his sonne and heire with them, to be their captaine." State Papers of Henry VIII., vol. i. (Ireland), p. 49.

² "Indeed, they had an old prophecy that the day should come when the Irish would weep over Englishmen's graves. This one shall hear up and down in every mouth. They fear it will be verified in the Scots above every other nation." ("Mercurius Hibernicus." By James Howel. Bristol: 1644.) In 1848 I asked an old Connaught coachman of the Sligo mail if he had ever heard it? "Yes," said he, "and that they would dig them out of their graves with their nails, if they could so get them back." Like the old Phrygian peasant digging the ground, when asked what he was seeking for? "For Antigonus," he answered, whose tyranny seemed mildness to the rule of his successor." Plutarch, "Life of Phocion.

Thousands sacrificed themselves to maintain the Kildares and the Desmonds in their right. And the love of lord and tenant was reciprocal. When the Earl of Kildare and his five uncles had been cut off by a kind of Turkish butchery,¹ the Irish of Leinster pined for the return of the heir; they longed to see young Gerald's banner displayed, and coveted more to see a Geraldine reign and triumph than to see God come among them;² and the last Earl of Desmond declared he had rather forsake God than forsake his men.³

Their crime was to be possessed of lands the English coveted. Moreover, the English could not endure that the Irish should enjoy their lands in a freer manner than themselves; and the Irish could not submit to give them up, or to change their free and independent title into feudal tenure. The English planted in Ireland soon learned to prefer Irish freedom to feudal thralldom. This became a fresh crime in the Irish—they corrupted the English, and both became odious, and the lands of each were to be confiscated.

James I. ascended the throne at the very hour of Hugh O'Neill Earl of Tyrone's submission. The country was a ruin, from the devastations of "the fifteen years' war." He recognised the insecurity of the properties of the Irish as the capital error of all the former governments, from the days of the

¹ Hanged and disembowelled alive at Tyburn on 3rd February, 1538.

"Butchered to make a *London* holiday."

Some or all of the uncles were guiltless of their nephew's rebellion. But the king was told there should never be peace and good order in Ireland "till the bludde of the Garroldes were wholly extinct." Lord Audley to Thomas Cromwell, 13th Sept., 1535. "Lives of the Earls of Kildare," by the Marquis of Kildare, vol. i., p. 152.

² State Papers of Henry VIII. (Ireland), vol. ii., p. 147.

³ Carleton (Bishop of Chichester), "Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy to the Church of England," p. 41. 4to. London : 1624.

Conquest. He saw also how largely the fears of the degenerate English for their estates, held under defective title, had contributed to the disturbance of Ireland. His first act was to proclaim a general oblivion and indemnity. He restored the Earl of Tyrone to his estates ; he promised the Irish that they should thenceforth hold their lands as English freeholds, instead of under the law of tanistry, and assured the degenerate English that their estates should be confirmed to them for the future against the claims of discoverers, on easy terms of composition. By these measures the perpetual war which had continued between the nations "for four hundred and odd years," and was caused, says Sir John Davis, by the purpose entertained by the English "to roote out" the Irish, was to be brought to an end. But before many years were passed these first good resolutions were abandoned. The right of the Irish to their lands was derided, and we find Sir John himself sharing in the spoil.¹ In the mean time the king's design with regard to the Irish was to restore to the chief and principal gentlemen such demesnes as they kept in their own occupation, to hold as tenants by knight's service under the king ; and to fix the inferior members of the clan, hitherto living the wandering life of the creaghts, in settled villages, paying certain money rents to their lords, instead of their former uncertain spendings,—the object being to break up the clan system, and to destroy the power of the chiefs.

This plan seems to have been matured by the summer of 1607. On the 17th of July in that year, Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy, accompanied by Sir John Davis and other commissioners, proceeded to Ulster, with powers to inquire

¹ In the Plantation of Ulster he got, in the county of Fermanagh, 1300 acres ; in the county of Tyrone, 2000 acres ; in the county of Armagh, 500 acres. Pynnar's "Survey of Ulster by Commission under the Great Seal of Ireland, A. D. 1618-1619." Harris's "Hibernica," p. 131. 8vo. Dublin : 1717.

what lands each man held. There appeared before them in each county which they visited the chief lords and Irish gentlemen, the heads of creaghts, and the common people, the Brehons and Shannahs, a kind of Irish heralds or chroniclers, who knew all the septs and families, and took upon themselves to tell what quantity of land every man ought to have ; they thus ascertained and booked their several lands, and the Lord Deputy promised them estates in them.¹ "He thus," says Sir John Davis, "made it a year of jubilee to the poor inhabitants, because every man was to return to his own house, and be restored to his ancient possessions, and they all went home rejoicing."²

Notwithstanding these promises, the king, in the following year issued his scheme for the Plantation of Ulster, urged to it, it would seem, by Sir Arthur Chichester, who so largely profited by it, though the highest councillor in the kingdom told him to his face in the king's presence that it was against the honour of the king and the justice of the kingdom.³ It could not be said that the flight of O'Neill and O'Donnell, Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, gave occasion to this change ; for the king immediately issued a proclamation⁴ (which he renewed on taking formal possession of the Earls' territories), assuring the inhabitants that they should be protected and preserved in their estates, notwithstanding the flight of the Earls : nor the outbreak of Sir Cahir O'Doherty in the month

¹ Letter of Sir John Davis to the Earl of Salisbury, A. D. 1607. "Historical Tracts," by Sir John Davis, p. 258. Dublin : 1787.

² Ibid., ib., p. 238.

³ "Analecta Sacra, Nova et Mira de Rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia pro Fide et Religione Gestis. Collectore et Relatore T. N. Philadelpho-Coloniæ," 1617, p. 239. 12mo.

⁴ Dated Rathfarnham, 7th Sept., fifth James I. "Printed Calendar of Patent Rolls of James I.," p. 419.

⁵ Dated 9th November of same year. Ib., p. 420.

of May, 1608, as it was confined to the neighbourhood of Londonderry, which he attacked, killing the governor, who had dared to strike him. The truth would seem to be, that the English, with their feudal prejudices, regard the land in a higher light than man, and consider the improvement of the country to mean the improvement of the land, and not the happiness of its inhabitants. As if man were not the first object—and humanity the first virtue! The more especially as they assume that the Irish cannot effect these works, and that the lands must accordingly be assigned to themselves, careful not to remember that the energies of the Irish are destroyed by their sense of impending exile. Manors of 1000, 1500, and 3000 acres were offered by this project to such English and Scottish as should undertake to plant their lots with British Protestants, and engage to allow no Irish to dwell upon them. For the security of the Plantation, all Irish who had been in arms were to be transplanted with their families, cattle, and followers, to waste places in Munster and Connaught, and there set down at a distance from one another; while those who should be suffered to remain were to remove from the lands allotted to the planters, to places where they could be under the eye of the "Servitors," as those planters were called who had shares given them in reward for their services after a war or rebellion.¹

The Irish gentlemen who did not forfeit their estates received proportions (intended to be three-fourths of their former lands, but too often only one-half or one-third, or none at all, as the English "were their own carvers"), as immediate tenants of the king. Their lands were liable to forfeiture if the chief took from any of his former clansmen any of his ancient customary exactions of victuals; if he

¹ Sir William Petty's "Political Anatomy," [A. D. 1670], chap. 13.

went coshering on them as of old ; if he used gavelkind, or took the name of "O'Neill," or "O'Donnell," "O'Carroll," or "O'Connor," by tanistry. On his death, his youthful heir was made ward to a Protestant, to be brought up in Trinity College, Dublin, from his twelfth to his eighteenth year, in English habits and religion,—often after this enforced conformity, all the more embittered, like Sir Phelim O'Neill, against English religion. The wandering creaghts were now to become his tenants at fixed money rents. He covenanted that they should build and dwell in villages, and live on allotted portions of land, "to them as grievous as to be made bond slaves." Unable to keep their cattle on the small portions of land assigned to them, instead of ranging at large, they sold away both corn and cattle.¹ Unused to money rents, though of victuals they formerly made small account because of their plenty, they were unable to pay their rents ; and their lords finding it impossible to exact them, and being thus deprived of their living, numbers of them fled to Spain. Similar plantations followed in Leitrim, Longford, King's County, and Wexford, except that in some (as in Leitrim) one-half of the lands of the Irish were to be seized.

What the Irish suffered in these plantations may be conceived from the following instances :—

Thus Daniel Coughlan, one of the young Duke of York's household, in his petition to the king, at Oxford, in 1645, states that, in the time of Lord Falkland being Deputy [A. D. 1622-1629], his father's lands in the King's County were planted for His Majesty's use, which was every fourth acre, according to plantation rule. "But one Matthew Drench [Derinzy], under pretence of plantation, turned your petitioner's father, deceased, and your petitioner, out of all his

¹ Letter of Sir Arthur Chichester to the King, 30th October, 1610. Sir Henry Ellis's "Original Letters." Third Series.

lands ; nor could your petitioner ever yet be righted, or have any consideration for his land." Derinzy being in actual rebellion here in England, and still in possession of all the petitioner's lands, Mr. Coughlan prayed to be restored.¹

In the Wexford plantation of 1611, the lands to be planted lay between the River Slaney and the sea, consisting of 66,800 acres, besides woods and mountains. Of 447 Irish claiming freeholds, only 21 were to retain their ancient houses and habitations, 36 others were to be elsewhere provided for, and all the rest of the freeholders, 390 in number, together with the other inhabitants, estimated to be 14,500 men, women, and children, were removable at the will of the new planters.²

On the 7th of May, 1613, the Sheriff of Wexford proceeded to put the latter in possession of the several portions of the land specified in their patents, broke open the doors of such of the ancient proprietors as resisted, and turned them out.³

They probably felt this all the more, as they had been previously informed that nothing was intended unto them by that plantation but their good ; and that the civilizing the country was the chief thing aimed at.⁴

They all offered, but in vain, to pay such rents, and to perform such buildings, as the new undertakers were to perform.⁵

The men of Longford, in their address to the Royal Commissioners authorized [A. D. 1622] to hear the grievances of

¹ Carte Papers, vol. xiv., p. 100. The king's fiat, dated at Oxford, March 28th, 1645, describes Mr. Coughlan as "our servant attending our dearest son, the Duke of York."

² Return of Sir Arthur Chichester and other Commissioners to the King. "Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica," vol. i., p. 376.

³ Ibid., p. 389.

⁴ Ibid., vol. i., p. 374.

⁵ Ibid., p. 390.

Ireland, say that, instead of losing one-fourth, many had all taken from them; and that divers of the poor natives, or former freeholders, after the loss of all their possessions or inheritance, some went mad, and others died instantly for very grief: as one O'Feraill, of Clayrad, and Donagh M'Gerald O'Feraill, of Cuillagh (and others whose names for brevity are left out), who on their death beds were in such a taking that they by earnest persuasion caused some of their friends to bring them out of their said beds, to have abroad the sight of the hills and fields they lost in the said plantation, every one of them dying instantly after.¹

If the fair promises of James I. were of no value to the native Irish, his commission to secure the defective titles of the English availed them but little more. Notwithstanding large sums paid during his reign, as compositions to obtain perfect titles, Discoverers with eagle eyes (to use the language of a Committee of the House of Commons of Ireland to Lord Strafford, in 1634), piercing into the grants made to them under this commission, took advantage of the errors of the persons employed in passing of patents and estates from the Crown, and disheartened them from making their possessions beautiful or profitable.² And King Charles I., occupied in devising means to raise moneys without the aid of Parliament, connived at the Earl's proceedings in the confiscation of the

¹ "To the Right Honourable the Commissioners authorized by His Majesty to hear the grievances of Ireland.

"A Memorial of part of their grievances and destructions done upon the most part of the poor natives of the County of Longford, in the time of the late Plantation thereof, by the Committees and Surveyors appointed for the said county." A. D. 1622, Harris MSS. p. 68. Folio. Royal Dublin Society's Library.

² "Strafford's Letters," vol. i., p. 310. For a good account of the various technical errors for which the Patents were declared to be void, see "Fiction Unmasked," by Walter Hargis, Esq., pp. 60-83. 12mo. Dublin: 1752.

estates of the old English of Connaught, though they had bought off the claim of the Crown, three hundred years old, derived through the De Burgos, whose daughter and heir Lionel, son of Edward III., had married. Lord Strafford found flaws in the execution of the previous commissions, and got the king's title found. More unscrupulous than James I., who professed to take one-fourth from the native Irish, Strafford resolved to take one-half of the lands of the old English of Connaught, with the intention of founding there "a noble English Plantation."¹ And when Lord Holland, in the Privy Council in England, declared that taking so much might induce them to call the Irish regiments out of Flanders, Lord Strafford answered that if taking one-half should move that country to rebellion, the taking one-third or one-fourth would hardly insure the Crown their allegiance ; and if they were so rotten and unsound at heart, wisdom would counsel to weaken them, and line them thoroughly with Protestants as guards upon them.²

His despotic proceeding in the confiscation of Connaught was made one of the grounds of his impeachment ; but the managers for the Parliament abandoned it.³ It had served its purpose by swelling the train of the Earl's accusers : and, in their Declaration concerning the Rise and Progress of the Irish Rebellion, the Commons of England made it a ground of complaint against the king that he had allowed the Connaught proprietors to compound with him for their estates.⁴

¹ Sir Richard Cox, Secretary to King William III., and afterwards Chancellor of Ireland, in his "Hibernia Anglicana," vol. ii., p. 56. Folio. London: 1690.

² "Strafford's Letters," vol. ii., p. 33.

³ Rushworth's "Historical Collections," vol. viii., p. 717.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. v., pp. 346-7.

CHAPTER II.

THE IRISH REBELLION OF 23RD OCTOBER, 1641, AND SUPPOSED
MASSACRE OF ENGLISH.

THE forty years between the defeat of the Irish at Kinsale, on the 2nd January, 1601-2, and the great War or Rebellion which broke out on the 23rd October, 1641, have been represented as the period of the greatest peace, improvement, and prosperity known in Ireland since the days of the first invasion. And so it was in one sense ; but in another the period of the greatest misery. The land was improved. Castles and bawns sprang up among new-formed fields. The planters, happy and energetic, thought all the world was happy too. Under the labours of about twenty years, their lands began to smile. Little they thought or cared how the ancient owner, dispossessed of his lands, must grieve as he turned from the sight of the prosperous stranger to his pining family ; daughters without prospect of preferment in marriage ; sons, without fit companions, walking up and down the country with their horses and greyhounds, coshering on the Irish, drinking and gaming, and ready for any rebellion ;¹ most of his high-born friends

¹ Act of 10th and 11th Charles I., chap. 16 [Irish], A. D. 1636, "For the suppression of Cosherers and idle Wanderers." It speaks of "the many young gentlemen of this kingdom that have little or nothing to live on of their own but live coshering on the country, and sessing themselves and their followers, their horses and their greyhounds, sometimes exacting money to spare them and their tenants, and to go elsewhere for their *ceaught* and *adraugh*, viz., supper and breakefaste being commonly active young men, and such as seek to have many followers apt upon the least occasion of insurrection or disturbance to be heads and leaders of outlaws and rebels, and in the meantime do support their excessive drinking and gaming by several stealths."

wandering in poverty in France or Spain, or enlisted in their armies. There was prosperity, but it was among the supplanting strangers—misery among the dispossessed and transplanted Irish. There was peace, but it was the peace of despair, because there remained no hope except in arms, and their arms were taken from them.

The case was little better among the old English gentry of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, once possessed of the finest lands, and all the power and privileges of the kingdom. They were now supplanted in all the offices of state by the later invaders of Queen Elizabeth's, and James the First's, and Charles the First's reigns, all Protestants. The towns, always hitherto the sure defence of the English power, were equally unhappy in this prosperous time. The seaport towns were built by the Danes, the inland ones raised and walled under charters from the kings of England or of feudal lords. They were so strictly English, that no Irish could originally by law dwell in them. They were considered by Sir Henry Sydney the Queen's unpaid garrisons, which had ever stood staunch in all wars as well of English rebels as of Irish enemies. The ancient burgher families were now supplanted by English Protestants in the office of mayors, sheriffs, and recorders; and where these could not be had, and Roman Catholics took the offices, the members of the corporation were summoned before the Lord Deputy, and fined £100 each, and imprisoned, for not taking the oath of supremacy when tendered to them.¹ Churchwardens enumerated in lists the Irish of every parish that did not attend the English service, and these were tendered to grand juries at sessions of the peace and assizes to be presented for fines. If the old English or Irish grand jurors outnumbered the new English, there were

¹ P. 325, "Analecta de Rebus Catholicis in Hibernia" (Collections relating to Catholic affairs in Ireland). 12mo. Dublin: 1617.

no presentments made ; for they made it a matter of conscience not to be accessory to fining their fellow-worshippers for an act of religious duty. They were then all "censured" by the Court of Castle Chamber by heavy fines, and put in prison, till at times the jails were choked with them.

At Michaelmas Term, 1616, the jurors who were imprisoned for refusing to find verdict against their fellow-Catholics were packed in jail like herrings in a barrel ; their fines reached to £16,000, which, instead of going to the poor of the parishes, went to private favourites.¹ Those of the county Cavan alone were fined £8000.²

The Primate's Great House at Drogheda was built out of them. For when Lesley, Bishop of Raphoe, was turned out of his Palace or See house, by orders of the Commonwealth, and he applied for compensation, as having built the house out of his own funds, the Commissioners for the affairs of Ireland affected to disbelieve him, as they knew, they said, that the Primate's house had been built out of the fines Ecclesiastical.³

During the same forty years, England and Scotland, like Ireland, had been suffering under the tyranny of King James I. and King Charles I. These men sought to deprive the Scots of their Presbyterian religion, and the English of their free Parliament. They were also charged with the design of restoring Popery in both kingdoms.

The Scots were the first to take arms, they were no sooner in the field than the leaders of the popular party in England secretly invited them to invade England, showing them that the king would be thus forced to call a Parliament to obtain supplies for the war ; and they engaged that this Parliament,

¹ "Analecta de Rebus Catholicis in Hibernia," p. 49.

² Ibid., p. 59.

³ Order on Dr. Lesley's petition, 15th May, 1654. ^A ₈₅, p. 379.

instead of providing funds to carry on the war against the Scots, should pay them the costs of their invasion, and should help to redress the grievances of Scotland by impeaching the king's ministers, the authors of the common calamities of the two kingdoms.

The king got ready an army in England to chastise the Scots. But he determined to make himself master as well of the discontented English as of the Scots, by wielding Ireland against them. Ireland in early times was styled by the English "one of the barbicans of the Realm."¹ On the other hand, O'Sullivan Bere counselled the Spaniards to turn it into a fortress for the reduction of England.² And to this purpose the king had for some time resolved to turn it. Lord Strafford had been employed there since the year 1633, in taking measures to have the lands, goods, and bodies of the king's Irish subjects at his absolute command. The king could then raise and pay what forces might be necessary for the invasion of England and Scotland.

In the summer of 1640, Strafford had an army of 8000 men, raised in Ireland, encamped about Belfast and Carrickfergus, for a descent upon Scotland. According to the king's plans, the king and his army were to march across the border, and attack the Scotch in front; Strafford and his forces were to land on the coast of Ayrshire and take them in the flank, and after "whipping them home in their own blood," the conjoined forces were to march into England to give the English a lesson.

But before the king was quite ready, the Scotch, at the in-

¹ Rolls of Parliament, vol. iii., p. 36, b. 2nd of King Richard II., A. D. 1379. Folio. London.

² "Arcem esse unde heretici possent debellari." "Alithinologia, sive Verdica Responsio, &c. Eudoxio Alithinologo [Rev. John Lynch] autore. Printed [at St. Malo], A. D. 1664. In 2 vols. 4to. Vol. ii., p. 12.

stigation of the Inviters, on the 21st of August, 1640, crossed the Tweed, and sat down in Durham and Northumberland.

By this bold step they anticipated and defeated the king's scheme. Many of the officers of his army were in favour of the treason of the Inviters. His army was mutinous.

A treaty, therefore, was come to at Ripon, and by the terms of it the Scots were to continue in the counties they occupied until paid their expenses. For this purpose "the Parliament of Parliaments" was summoned for the 3rd of November, 1640, and so far the scheme of the Inviters was completely successful.

The first act of the Parliament was to impeach Strafford; but, the method of impeachment failing, the Parliament passed a Bill of Attainder, and in pursuance of it this tyrant was beheaded on Tower Hill, on 12th of May, 1641, the Scottish army standing by (as it were) on English ground till he was executed, and the Court of Star Chamber was abolished. The Scots entered England on 20th August, 1640, and only quitted it in August, 1641.

But the king had no intention of yielding: on the contrary, he resolved to punish the Inviters. They were now in great danger. The English were pacified by the king's concessions. No act of pardon and oblivion, however, had passed.

The king had obtained some evidence of the treason of the Inviters while he was with the army at York, in the previous summer. With the view of completing the proofs, he proceeded to Edinburgh in July, 1641, and sent the queen with the crown jewels to France and Denmark, to provide arms, and to engage those powers to send him aid.¹ From York, on his way down, he sent into Ireland, to Ormond and Antrim, to

¹ This view is taken principally from Roger Acherley's "Britannic Constitution." Folio. London: 1727. (Chap ix., "Breaches of the Constitution in the Reign of Charles I.")

gather the freshly disbanded army of Strafford. If the Lord Justices should oppose his design, the Castle of Dublin was to be surprised. The Parliament of Ireland was to declare for the king against the Parliament of England, and the whole of Ireland was to be raised in his service. Such is the consistent account of the king's designs given by the Marquis of Antrim himself to Dr. Henry Jones, Bishop of Clogher, and Henry Owen, in the year 1650, to be communicated to Cromwell. They took down in writing all the particulars he gave during an interview with them, for this purpose, of two days' continuance (9th and 11th of May, 1650); and he read it again, signed, and confirmed it on the 22nd of August, 1650. He said he communicated the king's scheme to Lord Gormanstown and to Lord Slane, and to many in Leinster. And after going into Ulster he recommended the same to many there. "But the fools" (such was his lordship's expression to us, said Jones and Owen), "well liking the business, would not expect our time and manner of ordering the work, but fell upon it without us, and sooner and otherwise than we should have done, taking to themselves, in their own way, the management of the work, and so spoiled it."¹

In considering the first stage of this rebellion, and the unparalleled massacre supposed to be committed by the Irish, it will be necessary to know something of the population and state of Ulster at that period.

In 1619, ten years from the date of the Articles of the Plantation of Ulster, an accurate Government Survey was made of the state of every family of the Plantation. There were not quite 2000 families in all (exact, 1974), and in these

¹ The Marquis's statement is given at full length in 2nd Cox's "Hibernia Anglicana." Appendix. Paper xlviii.

6215 were between sixteen and sixty, fit to bear arms.¹ In 1633, on a similar inquiry, 13,092 were the numbers returned as capable of bearing arms.² In 1635 the Corporation of London was Star-chambered for their neglect in not bringing over English and driving out the Irish, and the city fined £70,000, and their lands seized into the king's hands for this breach of the Articles of 1609.³ Besides these Planters, the greater number of whom were Scotch, there were some English settlers there before the Plantation. They had come thither in the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. In the towns there were some traders and families of broken soldiers. Down and Antrim were not counties of King James's Plantation, but were filled with old Scots, who had made a first lodgment there in Henry VIII.'s time, and were well secured, not only by their numbers, but by a frontier line of more than fifty miles, of great strength. Lough Neagh was the centre, and through it ran the River Bann to the sea, completing the line.

In the six other counties, called the Escheated or Planted Counties, the Planters were surprised by the rising of the Irish under Sir Phelim O'Neil. He seized the forts of Charlemont and Mountjoy. All places of strength in the North were taken, except Derry and Carrickfergus. The Planters' cattle and goods were seized, the Planters made prisoners of, or forced to fly to Derry or Dublin, or to seek shelter in some

¹ Survey of the Plantation of Ulster, by Captain Nicholas Pynnar and others, by virtue of H. M. Commission under the Great Seal of Ireland, dated 28 December, 1618. "Hibernica, Or some Ancient Pieces belonging to Ireland." Part I. Paper ix. 8vo. Dublin: 1770.

² "State Letters of the Earl of Strafford." Vol. i. Folio. London.

³ The judgments, as delivered by Archbishop Laud and the several members of the Court of Star Chamber, are to be found in the MS. in Trinity College Library, Dublin, F. 3.17. In the Library of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, (commonly called "Archbishop Marsh's Library,") the proceedings from day to day are to be found at length.

few Planters' castles too strong for the rebels to take. So terrified were they, that for the first three days and nights no cock was heard to crow, no dog to bark, nay, not even when the rebels came in great multitudes.¹ In Dublin, notwithstanding its garrison, they were so awe-struck that the Castle drawbridge was raised, and the Lords Justices and their friends went up to the platforms of the towers of the Castle to view the approach (as was expected) of the rebels.² And on 27th December, 1641, the unusual piling of a flock of sea birds in the night air over the city for hours, that would not be dispersed, though the great pieces out of the Castle were shot off for that purpose, struck the inhabitants with terror, as portending they knew not what dreadful evils.³

The Lords Justices (says Ormond), were at first in great fear, and temporized; but when some regiments of English were landed in Dublin [in December, 1641], and others of Scotch in Ulster, they took heart, and instigated the officers and soldiers to all cruelty imaginable.⁴ At first, says another, they were fearfully scared by a popular route of unarmed clowns, so that they durst scarce peep out of their great garrisons of Dublin and Drogheda; but when they had discovered those multitudes to be weaponless, then indeed they took courage, and, rushing out with horse and foot completely armed, they slew man, woman, and child, as they came under their lash, as well those that held the plough as

¹ "Deposition of the Rev. Dr. Maxwell, Rector of Tynan, in the county of Armagh." Borlase's "History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion," p. 418.

² Sir Richard Cox's "Hibernia Anglicana," vol. ii., p. 75.

³ "The State of Dublin and other Parts of Ireland, &c. With a strange and unheard of flocking together of several kinds of Birds over the City of Dublin on Christmas Eve last." By T. Witcomb. 4to. London: 1642.

⁴ "Introduction to a Memorial about the Affairs of Ireland from 1641." Written by Lord Ormond the year before his death; intended to precede a narrative to be presented to the Queen. "Carte Papers," vol. lxix., p. 286.

the pike, the goad as the gun.¹ Thousands were thus killed; and the Lords Justices were known not to favour any officer that did not, upon his return from these "birdings," as they called them, give a good account of their sport—though their game was unarmed men, and too often women and children.² Sir Simon Harcourt's was one of the two regiments that first landed; Sir Thomas Temple's the other. "We found the town of Kinsale in their possession, on arriving from Cork" (says an English gentleman), "and they had not made an end of execution upon the rebels in the church and churchyard; and we heard these two great commanders crying, 'Down with all males above thirteen years old:' such pitiful clamours and mortal groanings I never heard before, and hope I shall never hear again."³ In March following Sir Simon and 1500 men surrounded the castle of Carrickmines, close to Dublin, whither some rebels had fled, but while pointing a gun was himself mortally wounded. The castle being taken, the besiegers put man, woman, and child to death, over 260 in number—and a priest, being afterwards found hidden in a hogshead, they cut him as small as flesh for the pot.⁴ This was their own boast. Sir Simon had only just returned from "burning the Pale" south of the Boyne, where he and Lord

¹ "Queries propounded by the Protestant Party concerning the Peace now treated of in Ireland, and the Answers thereto made on behalf of the Irish Nation," p. 13. 4to. Paris: 1644.

² "A Discourse between two Counsellors of State, y^e one of England and the other of Ireland." Printed at Kilkenny, December, 1642. [MS. copy.] "Carte Papers," vol. iv.

³ "Good and Bad News from Ireland, or the taking of the Town of Kinsale from the Rebels . . ." 4to. London: 1641. [1642.]

⁴ "The last True News from Ireland, being, &c. Likewise the manner how a great Castle called Carrickmayne (within 6 miles of Dublin), was taken by the English, and the Rebels put to death, man, woman, and child." 4to. London: 1642.

Ormond, by the express command of the Lords Justices, carried fire and sword, making no distinction between noblemen and others, but burning the villages of the Irish and the houses and goods of the nobility and gentry alike.¹

Sir Charles Coote went into the suburbs of Dublin and the county of Wicklow on like expeditions. His soldiers had orders to spare no infants above a span long. And thirty years after, a "moderate cavalier" gloried in his doings:—

"Brave Sir Charles Coote
I honour; who in 's father's steps so trod
As to the rebels was the scourge or rod
Of the Almighty. He by good advice
Did kill the Nitta, that they might not grow lice."²

For such was the barbarity of the English soldiers to the Irish, that Dr. Nalson heard a kinsman of his own, who was a captain in that service, relate, that no manner of compassion or discrimination was shewed to age or sex, but that little children were promiscuously sufferers with the guilty. And that if any that had some grain of compassion reprehended the soldiers for their unchristian inhumanity, they would scoffingly reply, "Nits will be lice."³ They deemed it treason to the English interest to oppose the killing of them. An English officer of quality justified his leaving the service in Ireland in a printed statement in London, for that the Bishop of Meath had dared, in his sermon at Christ Church, Dublin, in the presence of the State, to preach of mercy for infants. It need scarce be said that he was equally indignant at the Bishop's

¹ Carte's "Life of James Duke of Ormond," vol. i., p. 287. Folio.

² "The Moderate Cavalier, or the Soldier's Description of Ireland. . . . A Book fit for all Protestants' Houses in Ireland," p. ii. 8vo. Printed A. D. 1675.

³ Nalson's "Historical Collections," vol. ii. Introduction, p. vii. 2 vols. Folio. London: 1682-1683.

plea for labourers, for unarmed and unresisting men, and for women.¹

But these cruelties, it may be said, were in revenge for the massacre of the Scotch and English in Ulster by the Irish. It has been represented that there was a general massacre, surpassing the horrors of the Sicilian Vespers, the Parisian Nuptials, and Matins of the Valtelline,² but nothing is more false.

The English, whose conscience made them expect such retribution, had often foretold the outburst of injured and outraged humanity. They themselves massacred the Danes: but the Irish, to use the words of an old divine, have ever lacked gall to supply a wholesome animosity to the eternal enemies and revilers of their name and nation.³

¹ "An Apology made by an English Officer of Quality for leaving the Irish Wars; declaring the design now on foot to reconcile the Irish and English, and expelling the Scotch, to bring the Popish forces against the Parliament." 4to. London: 1643.

² "Letter from W. Basil, Esq., Attorney-General of Ireland, to the Parliament." Ordered to be printed. 4to. London: 1650.

³ "Six hundred years ago we found the native Irish murdering and pillaging, burning towns, carrying off heiresses and wives, too; and it cannot be said that the leaven is quite out of them yet. A hundred years, more or less, are a trifle in the cure of so deep a disease. So long as there are Ryan Pucks [the latest sacrifice on the scaffold to the maintenance of the unendurable feudal land monopoly], there will be stout Saxons, who, by fair means or by foul, will carry the day, or send them to work and be honest across the ocean. We wish, of course, the animal could be tamed [i. e., reduced to the serfish condition of the rural population of England], and kept at home; but it is no use wishing when a whole race has an innate taste for conspiracy and manslaughter."—"Times," 10th May, 1859.

"The Lion of St. Jarlath's surveys with an envious eye the Irish exodus, and sighs over the departing demons of assassination and murder. So complete is the rush of departing marauders, whose lives were profitably occupied in shooting Protestants behind a hedge, that silence reigns over the vast solitude of Ireland. Just as civilization gradually supersedes the wilder and fiercer creatures by men and cities, so decivilization, such as is going on in Ireland, wipes out mankind to make room for oxen."—"Saturday Review," Nov. 28th, 1863.

The proper evidence to prove or disprove this dreadful massacre are of course authentic contemporaneous documents,—not compilations of a later age, like Hume's "History of England," or even the ponderous pamphlets of party writers of the day, like Milton and Clarendon, strangers to Ireland and its transactions.

There is one document that ought to be decisive in this case, and it would have been so if the English of Ireland were not interested enough, and the English of England prejudiced enough to propagate and perpetuate any calumny to the damage of the fame and national character of the people of Ireland. It is the following :—Just two months after the outbreak the Government issued a Commission under the Great Seal to seven despoiled Protestant ministers, to take evidence upon oath "to keep up the memory of the outrages committed by the Irish to posterity."

The Commission, dated 23rd December, 1641, was, in its original form, to take an account of losses. It was amended on the 18th of January, 1642,¹ to include murders. So that this was an after-thought ; a thing scarce possible if there had been a general massacre. The first Commission recites "that many British and Protestants have been separated from their habitations, and others deprived of their goods ;" the Commissioners are accordingly to examine upon oath concerning the amount of loss, the names of the robbers, and what traitorous speeches were uttered by the robbers or others. The second adds, "and what violence was done by the robbers, and how often, and what numbers, have been murthered, or have perished afterwards, on the way to Dublin or else

¹ See both Commissions, given in full length in the "Remonstrance of divers remarkable passages concerning the Church and Kingdom of Ireland, presented to the House of Commons in England, by Doctor Henry Jones, Agent for the Protestant Clergy of that Kingdom." 4to. London : 1642.

where." And the remonstrance shows that the outrages, in spite of the Commissioners' attempt to present the most terrible pictures, were, for the most part, only such as necessarily followed the stripping the English and driving them from their possessions, as these Planters had driven the Irish from theirs thirty years before ; and that the murders were fewer than have occurred in similar insurrections, where of course some would be slain resisting the pillagers of their home-steads. The Commissioners seem unconscious of any general massacre. The murders they record are the occurrences of four months, collected from different parts of Ulster. In the few instances where any numbers were slain, some of them, at least, were plainly acts of war, though the Commissioners would have them supposed to be cold-blooded murders, and occurred late in December. So far, therefore, from warranting the supposed extensive massacre of the English, this official account disproves it, and shows how baseless is Clarendon's story of 40,000 or 50,000 English murdered before they knew where they were, or of an incredible number of men, women, and children promiscuously slaughtered in ten days, as he elsewhere has it ; or of 154,000 or 300,000, massacred in cold blood. The letters of the Lords Justices during the first months of the Rebellion are equally silent concerning any massacre;¹ and their Proclamation of 8th February, 1642, while it falsely charges the Irish with the design, says it had failed.² All the accounts of the time are full of the crowds driven out, not murdered. Six thousand women and children were "saved" by Captain Mervyn in Fermanagh. Great numbers got safe to Derry, Coleraine, Carrickfergus, and

¹ Abstract of the Lords Justices' Letter Book, from 1641 till 1644. "Carte Papers," vol. 68. No. 132.

² This Proclamation is to be found at length in Borlase's "History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion."

went from these parts and other parts, to England. Several thousands got safe to Dublin. In the county of Cavan there were no murders. Bishop Bedel of Kilmore remained in his palace unharmed, his flocks untouched, surrounded by crowds of English that fled thither as to a port of safety, and lay in his barns and stables, and even on hay in the churchyard.¹ Thither fled the Bishop of Elphin and a train of Roscommon exiles, and there he enjoyed such a heaven upon earth for three weeks, that he would willingly have endured another Irish stripping to enjoy again such holy converse.² For the Irish never hindered these two Bishops and their poor flocks from using their religious exercises,³ though their own was made a crime; and seven priests, reprieved by the king, were hanged in England at this time, at the angry demand of the House of Commons, simply for saying mass. In November, an Irish priest arrived at Bishop Bedel's, to conduct them to Dublin. The Bishop of Elphin and the rest departed, leaving Bedel and his family behind, who, with holy courage, resolved to stay.⁴ Bedel died there in February, 1642, and the Irish paid him honour by firing over his grave. His family continued there unmolested till 15th June, 1642, when they joined a party of 1340 English, that by treaty with the Irish were escorted safely to Sir Henry Tichborne's garrison at Drogheda.⁵ Of the Bishop of Elphin's company not one miscarried, nor was a thread of the garments that Bedel gave the

¹ "Memorial of the Life and Episcopate of Dr. A. Bedel of Kilmore. By his son-in-law, Alexander Clogy, Minister of Cavan." Printed for the first time. [Edited by A. W. Walker Wilkins.] 12mo. London: 1862.

² Letter of John, Bishop of Elphin, to Ormond, dated 4th May, 1682. "Carte Papers." Vol. 39, p. 365. Endorsed by Ormond "Concerning his treatment on y^e beginning of y^e Rebellion, 1641."

³ Clogy, "Life and Episcopate of Bedel."

⁴ Bishop of Elphin's letter.

⁵ Clogy.

script English touched by the rebels on their way, which the bishop attributed to Bedel's parting blessing,¹ not to the fidelity and care of their guide, or the humanity of the people. Bedel is always represented to have died a prisoner, though he was only removed for a fortnight to the neighbouring Castle of Cloughouter, by order from Kilkenny, on the advance of an English force, and then restored to his son-in-law's house. In like manner Sir Phelim O'Neil is handed down by history as the murderer of Lord Caulfeild, his neighbour in the country, and friend in Parliament. Yet he treated him and his family with great care when he surprised the fort of Charlemont, on the 23rd of October, 1641; and there Lord Caulfeild was kept until the 14th of January, 1642, when he was sent with an escort towards Cloughouter Castle by a similar order, probably from Kilkenny, to that which brought Bishop Bedel thither. They were to rest the first night at Sir Phelim O'Neil's manor of Kynard (now Caledon); but as Lord Caulfeild was entering the gate, he was shot in the back by Edmund O'Hugh, a foster-brother of Sir Phelim, and thus murdered in the absence and without the knowledge of Sir Phelim. That Sir Phelim had no part in this murder is certain, for he was sorely distressed at it, and had O'Hugh committed to Armagh jail for trial for the murder; but he escaped, whereupon Sir Phelim had the sentry hanged for his connivance or neglect.²

¹ Bishop of Elphin's Letter.

² This calumny has prevailed in spite of the contemporary reports of Sir Phelim's worst enemies in his favour. Thus,—from Dublin, 1641—2—"The Lord Caulfeild was most barbarously murdered at Sir Phelim O'Neale's house, where he was shot dead with a brace of bullets by a foster-brother of Sir Phelim when Sir Phelim was from home. Sir Phelim O'Neale, at his return, caused his foster-brother and two or three villains more to be hanged who were conspirators in the death of the Lord Caulfeild." "A Relation of the present State and Condition of Ireland." 4to. London: 1641—2.

If then these official documents give no warrant for the tale of this tremendous massacre, how, it will be asked, did it arise?

It must be remembered that the king was at Edinburgh, collecting evidence against the Inviters, on the 23rd October, 1641, when the Irish of Ulster rose in arms. The Parliament sent a message to the king, announcing the outbreak. The king saw the handle that would be made of any delay on his part in taking steps to suppress the Irish, who alleged a Royal Commission for their actings. Yet he was loth to leave Edinburgh till he had completed his task. He, therefore, desired the Parliament to provide for the suppressing of the Irish rebels, intending, no doubt, to be soon back in London, and having treated Pym and the others as they had treated Strafford, to have the Parliament at his feet. On the 23rd of November, 1641, he returned from Edinburgh to Whitehall, and discharged the Middlesex trained bands from guarding the Houses of Parliament, and appointed others. These the Commons discharged, and ordered halberts to be brought into the House for defence. On the 1st of December, 1641, they presented their Grand Remonstrance; for they knew of the king's design to cut some of them shorter by the head, and they resolved to be beforehand with him, and to blemish his credit before he could attack theirs. On the 3rd of January, 1642, he sent to arrest the Five Members under an indictment signed with his own hand. And on the 4th of January the king entered the House of Commons to arrest Pym and the others, but was foiled, and soon after sullenly left Whitehall, like a beast baffled in his spring, and never entered his palace again until he came thither, seven years afterwards, to pass through the banqueting house to the scaffold for his execution.

The king's entering the Commons' House was, in truth,

the first stroke in the Civil War, though the king's standard was not displayed at Nottingham till 22nd of August, 1642. The interval was spent by both sides in preparation. The king retired towards Hull, where the arms provided for the war against the Scots were deposited. The king attempted to enter the town. Sir John Hotham shut the gates against him.

On the 8th of April, 1642, the king sent a message to Parliament, that he was resolved to go into Ireland to head his army there against the Irish rebels. The Parliament intimated to him by their answer, that they should consider it an abdication. They were persuaded he only intended to go thither to bring his army thence into England. The Parliament had now an interest in the Irish Rebellion. It kept the king's forces in Ireland; it damaged his reputation. The people were encouraged to believe that he and his Popish Queen were the authors of it. Above all, it gave the Parliament the power to raise money and armed men. For under the pretence that he had commanded them to provide for the suppressing the rebels, they extorted his assent to an Act authorizing subscriptions or adventures of money for raising an army, to be at the Adventurers' command, and officered and paid by them. The lands of the Irish in arms were to satisfy the Adventurers for their advances, but they were not to be set out to them until the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled should declare the war to be ended. The king could, therefore, make no peace (they insisted), nor grant any pardons to the Irish; for the effect would be, to take from the Adventurers lands of the Irish. Thus, the Irish were provoked to continue the war, and the king was to be prevented from employing them against the Parliament. In 1643, however, the Parliament having sent Sir H. Vane into Scotland to engage the Scots to advance a second time to their aid, as

they had suffered great defeats from the Cavaliers, the king directed Ormond to make a truce or Cessation with the Irish, and send his forces thus disengaged into England. To defeat this design, the Parliaments of England and Scotland passed ordinances, declaring that no quarter should be given to any Irish coming from Ireland to fight in the king's service ; and to damage the king's cause in this crisis, they encouraged the most dreadful charges against the Irish. Nameless writers now propagated the tale of 150,000 English massacred in Ireland by the rebels ; and the story had no better authority until the year 1646, when the king was about to conclude a Peace with the Confederate Catholics, in order to employ their forces against the Parliament. Sir John Temple, who had been imprisoned by Ormond in 1644, in Ireland, for betraying his duty as a Privy Councillor, in spreading false news against the king, but was now in London, published at this crisis his account of the Irish Rebellion. Its purpose was to obstruct the Peace, and with this view it represented the Irish as the most horrible of mankind. He it is that says, " there were above 300,000 Protestants murdered in cold blood," and is, therefore, alleged as authority for the tale. But he immediately adds, " or destroyed in some other way, or expelled out of their habitations ;" and not in ten days after the outbreak, but from the 23rd of October, 1641, to the Cessation made on the 15th of September, 1643,¹ two years of warfare, in which no quarter was given to the Irish. So that it would be consistent with this statement, that none or but few were murdered in the first six months, and only a hundred in the whole course of it, and all the rest only driven out. Then it is to be considered that every Englishman killed by the Irish was murdered or massacred. For it is the law that makes killing murder or no

¹ "History of the Irish Rebellion." 4to. London : 1646.

murder ; and it is the strongest that make the law. Thus, it was no murder or massacre for Captain Swanley, in May, 1644, to take seventy of the king's soldiers, being part of 150 sent over by Ormond by way of Milford Haven to the king's aid, and captured by Captain Swanley at sea, and to tie them back to back and throw them overboard.¹ For the Parliament had ordained that no quarter should be given to any Irish coming into England to the king's aid. The London papers made merry upon it ; they said, "Captain Swanley thus made those who would not take the Covenant, take the water with their heads downwards ;" and that "he made trial if an Irish Cavalier could swim without hands."² For this good service the House of Commons ordered him a chain of gold worth £200.³ Nor was it murder for Colonel Mytton to do the like with other soldiers of the king's army sent by Ormond by way of Chester ; with this difference, that he tied Anglo-Irish and Irish together.⁴

The Parliament of Scotland, in 1644, had passed a similar ordinance against quarter, by agreement with the Parliament of England. Accordingly, after the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh, in 1649, all the Irish prisoners taken by his army were massacred. But this was not all. On 23rd December, 1649, the Scottish Parliament "ordained" that all Irish soldiers and their followers in the several prisons of Selkirk, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Dunbarton, and Perth, should be executed without any assize or process, "conform" to the treaty betwixt both kingdoms passed in Act. In one day, eighty

¹ "Mercurius Aulicus," for May, 1644. 4to. London.

² "The Scout," "The Scottish Dove," "The Weekly Account." See "Mercurius Aulicus." *Ibid.*

³ Commons' "Journals," vol. iii., p. 517.

⁴ "Micro-Chronicou" for August 17, 1646, in Appendix to "Mercurius Rusticus."

women and children, some being infants at the mother's breast, were cast over a high bridge, and in this way destroyed, only for being the wives and children of Irish soldiers.¹ But this was no murder, for it was "conform" to law. On the other hand, it was murder for the Irish troops attacking a castle, in 1641, to have killed any of the garrison, if they did not happen to be in the pay of the state.

Baron Povey, at the Maryborough assizes in 1665, sentenced a man to death for being one of Captain Barnaby Dempsey's regiment at the siege of Ballylinan in 1641, where, twenty-five years before, an English spy had been hanged by order of an Irish court martial. Ten men of Captain Dempsey's regiment had been hanged the previous assizes, and fifty more were to be tried at the next. Baron Povey declared from the bench that the 500 men were all guilty, and would have hanged all of the regiment that survived,² if Lord Ormond had not stopped the proceeding. His own cousin, Colonel Walter Bagnal, had been hanged by the High Court of Justice at Kilkenny, in October, 1652, for a similar act. At the approach of the assizes numbers every year forsook their labours for fear of prosecutions, many of them moved out of malice.³ Thus, Mary Cooper, widow of Connor O'Brien, of Leimeneagh, in the county of Clare, Esq., deceased, on claiming her jointure in the Court of Claims in 1662, was charged with murder alleged to be committed in 1642, in order to defeat her claim, of which she was totally ignorant and innocent. Her only

¹ Napier, "Life of Montrose," p. 395. 8vo. Edinburgh: 1840.

² "Colonel John Fitzpatrick to Sir Nicholas Plunket, April 28, 1665." "Carte Papers," vol. xxxiv., p. 100. "Petition of Thomas Hoolahan to Ossory, Lord Deputy; and Respite of Execution, 18 March, 1665." Ibid., vol. lx., p. 327. "King's Letter to Lord Deputy to stay prosecutions, as a Bill of Oblivion is under consideration. May 26th, 1665." Ibid., vol. xlivi., p. 243.

³ "Ormond, Lord Lieutenant, to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland." Dated London, April 29, 1665. Ibid., vol. xlvi., p. 131.

safety was the king's pardon, which recites these facts as the ground of it.¹ And Philip Purcell, of Ballyfoyle, in the county of Kilkenny, because he claimed his estate before the Commissioners, was imprisoned on a charge of murder on the information of some "fanatics" that were in possession, and conspired to deprive him of his life. He, therefore, prayed that he might be bailed, and his trial postponed to the summer assizes, by which time, he doubted not, the Old Protestant interest would be so settled as he might not distrust of obtaining an indifferent jury.²

The king, therefore, in 1665, ordered the Attorney-General to see that his subjects should not prosecute any suits against the Irish for wrongs done in 1641, but the Commons of England prayed him to revoke the order. The Act of Oblivion, passed by the English Parliament in 1660, covered all the acts of the Protestants of Ireland, but none ever passed for the Irish, though expressly promised. So that acts of war are to this day counted against the Irish as murders, while massacres by the English or Scotch are suppressed. Thus, Newry surrendered to Marshal Conway and General Munro, the commanders of the joint English and Scottish armies, on 4th May, 1642, on quarter for life. Yet forty of the townsmen were put to death next day on the bridge, and amongst them "two of the Pope's Pedlars" (so they called two seminary priests); and the Scotch soldiers, finding a crowd of Irish women and children hiding under the bridge, took some eighteen of the women, and stript them naked, and threw them into the river and drowned them, shooting them in the water; and more had suffered so, but

¹ "King's Letter." Dated August 9th, 1662. "Carte Papers," vol. lxii., p. 369.

² "His Petition to the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant," 4th Jan. 1661-2. *Ibid.*, vol. xxxvii., p. 465.

that Sir James Turner, in command under General Munro, galloped up and stopped his men. They were only copying, he says, the cruel example set them by the English under Conway's command. If it was intended to terrify the Irish, he adds, it failed; for in revenge they put some ministers, prisoners in their hands, to death.¹ All this was published in London in "A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Scots and English Forces in the North of Ireland in 1642." The Parliament ordered (June 8, 1642), the book to be burned, not as false, but as scandalous and to the dishonour of the Scots nation, and the printer to be imprisoned.² The Confederate Catholics printed, in 1643, a collection of the murders done upon the Irish by the English. The book was burnt at Dublin on 26th June, 1660, by order of the Lord Lieutenant and Council;³ and on 7th July, 1663, Patrick Rooth, a poor sailor, was imprisoned for selling it.⁴

One work out of many written at the time in defence of the Irish, and thus destroyed, has survived. It seems to be a reprint at Kilkenny, in December, 1642, of a work published in London, in the form of a discourse between a Privy Councillor of Ireland and one of the Council of England. The Privy Councillor of Ireland treats of the causes of the Insurrection, taking up Irish grievances from the Earl of Strafford's government in 1633, and touches towards the end upon the collection of outrages by the seven despoiled ministers, called the Remonstrance, which was published in the month of April,

¹ "Memoirs of his own Life and Times." By Sir James Turner, 1632-1670, p. 19. 4to. Printed at Edinburgh, 1829.

² "Commons' Journals for 8th June, 1642," vol. ii., p. 619.

³ "Brief Occurrences touching Ireland, begun the 25th March, 1661." "Carte Papers," vol. lxiv., p. 442.

⁴ "Petition of Patrick Rooth, of the City of Dublin, Seaman, with the Order for hearing before the Council." Ibid, vol. lx., p. 377.

1642.¹ He does not confute the massacre, only because none is charged. His complaint is, that they have given an exaggerated account of murders and outrages. "Doubtless the Irish did, in many places," he says, "kill men resisting them in their pillaging; but the report of their killing women, or men desiring quarter, and such like inhumanities, were inventions to draw contributions, and make the enemy odious. But sure I am (he continues) that there was no such thing done while I was there in Ireland about six months after these *sturres* began. And though unarmed, men women, and children were killed in thousands by command of the Lords Justices, the Irish sent multitudes of our people, both before and since these cruelties done, as well officers and soldiers as women and children, carefully conveyed, to the seaports and other places of safety; so let us call them what we will—bloody inhuman traitors, or barbarous rebels—we have suffered ourselves to be much exceeded by them in charity, humanity, and honour." To hear the English complain of massacre in Ireland is about as entertaining as it proved to the Rheygians to hear the Carthaginians complain of anything effected by guile.² For it was only victory that decided, with her usual contempt for justice, that the Irish, and not the English, should be noted to the world for massacre.

¹ "A Discourse between two Councillors of State, the one of England, and the other of Ireland. Printed at Kilkenny the 10th of December, MDCXLII." Copy in MS. "Carte Papers," vol. iv., No. 54.

² Plutarch, "Life of Timoleon."

CHAPTER III.

SCHEME FOR A LAST AND PERMANENT CONQUEST OF IRELAND BY
PLANTATION, THROUGH A SOCIETY OF ADVENTURERS.

ACCORDING to the scheme of the Parliament for suppressing the Irish Rebellion, 2,500,000 acres of Irish lands to be forfeited, were offered as security to those who should advance moneys towards raising and paying a private army for subduing the rebels in Ireland.¹ The moneys, instead of being paid into the King's exchequer, were to be paid to a committee, composed half of members of the House of Commons, and half of subscribers to this joint fund, who were to nominate the general and the officers, the king having nothing to say to the force but to sign the officers' commissions. All the Irish saw that this army of Adventurers were coming, like the first invaders under Strongbow, to conquer estates for themselves and their employers, and therefore could not but oppose them for the sake of their wives and children, who must be deprived of their homes. They must therefore fight against England, thus represented, and the king be deprived of their aid. The

¹ "Petition of divers well affected to the House of Commons, offering to raise and maintain forces on their own charge against the rebels of Ireland, and afterwards to receive their recompense out of the rebels estates," Feb. 11, 1642, p. 553, 4th Rushworth's Collections; Act for the speedy reducing of the Rebels in Ireland, 16 Charles I. [English], c. 33.

"The Adventurers, with their moneys raised under the Act, were to have carried over a brigade of 5000 foot and 500 horse into Munster against the rebels, which business they were to have carried on by officers chosen by themselves, whereby they had the oversight of that business, and laying out their own money for the best advantage of the service."—Reasons of the Committee of Adventurers for refusing to lend moneys on the Ordinance of 15th August, 1645.

king objected to the Act: it took away from him the power of pardoning the Irish; and he suggested that it must only render them desperate, which in truth was the very purpose of the Parliament, but he dared not refuse his assent.¹ The measure was received in England as a triumph over the king and the Irish. The subscribers, or Adventurers as they were called, were to have estates and manors of 1000 acres given to them in Ireland at the following low rates:—In Ulster for £200, in Connaught for £300, in Munster for £450, and in Leinster for £600, and lands proportionably for less sums. The rates by the acre were four shillings in Ulster, six shillings in Connaught, eight shillings in Munster, and twelve shillings in Leinster.

If this plan were carried out, it was to put an end for ever, according to Sir John Bulstrode Whitelock, the Speaker of the House of Commons, to that long and bloody conflict foretold (with so much truth) by Giraldus Cambrensis.² According to another, it would bring in such sums of money (which are the sinews of war) as would bring the war to a speedy end; the more certainly as many of the officers of the force would themselves become Adventurers, and thus, in the language of Sallust describing the soldiers of Catiline, they would carry fortune, honour, glory, and riches at their swords' points. The work of Queen Elizabeth and James the First, it was said, would now be perfected. The Irish would be rooted out by a new and overwhelming plantation of English: another England would speedily be found in Ireland, and that prophecy as old as the invasion³ be proved false, that

¹ P. 557; *ibid.*

² "Speech at a Conference between the Lords and Commons on 13th February, 1641-2, concerning the Proposition of divers Gentlemen, &c., for the speedy Reducing," &c. Small 4to. London: 1642.

³ Giraldus Cambrensis. B. ii, ch. 33.

Ireland will not be conquered till just before the day of judgment.¹

The Adventurers had their private army of 5000 foot and 500 horse at Bristol, under the orders of Lord Wharton, ready for the invasion of Munster, in the summer of 1642. But the conflict between the king and Parliament growing embittered, he delayed the giving the commissions for the officers;² and the civil war having broken out, the Parliament directed Lord Wharton and his force to march against the king; and on the 23rd October, 1642 (the first anniversary of the Irish rebellion), they were defeated at the battle of Edge Hill, with the rest of the English rebels. The Adventurers finding that the funds they had raised to conquer lands in Ireland were thus misused by the Parliament, it was difficult to obtain further subscriptions, though the measure of land was enlarged to the Irish standard, and afterwards doubled for any Adventurer that would pay in a sum equal to a fourth of his original subscription. But the conflict in England prevented any forces from coming thence for seven years, except a short buccaneering expedition of the Adventurers to the coasts of Munster, under Lord Forbes, in July, 1642. This was a force raised by them under an Ordinance of the House of Commons which accepted their proposals (on 14th April, 1642) to subscribe £20,000, to raise six or seven ships and 1200 men, to be repaid like other adventures by the lands of the Irish.³ The Adventurers stipulated for the naming of the officers, the hanging and shooting of rebels, and the keeping of what

¹ "Fidelity, Valour, and Obedience, of the English declared, and a desire that the present forces now ready to bicker here in England, may be turned against the barbarous Irish rebels. By Walter Meredith, Gent." Small 4to. London: 1642.

² 4th "Rushworth's Collections," p. 776.

³ Ordinance for the Sea Service, 14th April, 1642. Hughes' "Abridgment of all the Acts and Ordinances," &c. 4to. London.

castles they took, and for the dividing amongst them of all the spoil. They had no settled service, but were to make waste and havoc. They landed 1200 men at Kinsale, and wasted the neighbourhood, but were beaten back. They thence sailed round to Galway. There Lord Forbes broke the truce made by Lord Clanricard, got possession of St. Mary's Church, dug up the graves, and burnt the coffins and bones of the dead, and required the citizens to sign a submission, expressing their belief that there was no other means of saving them from extirpation and banishment. He quitted Galway on 10th September, and on his way back to England entered the Limerick river, spoiling mansions on the river side.¹ It was not, therefore, until they had put a conclusion to their strife by cutting off the king's head and, dethroning the dynasty, that Cromwell, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and general-in-chief of the Commonwealth armies, landed at Ringsend, near Dublin, on the 14th August, 1649, in order to carry on the war in Ireland. He remained there for nearly nine months, being called back to England on the 29th May, 1650, just after the capture of Clonmel.

The war lasted more than two years longer; for it was only on the 27th September, 1653, that the Parliament were enabled to declare the rebellion subdued, and the war appeased and ended.²

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE IRISH WAR, AND THE TERMS OFFERED TO THE IRISH.

Spenser has described the English method of war in Ireland. He was an eye-witness of the measures pursued by his master and patron, Lord Grey de Wilton, to subdue Munster,

¹ Carte "Life of Ormond," vol. i., p. 346.

² "Ordinance for the Satisfaction of the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, and the Arrears due to the Soldiery there, 27th September, 1653."—Scobell, "Acts and Ordinances."

in 1580. By this method a most populous and plentiful country, he says, was suddenly left void of man and beast, so that (to use the language of the Irish Annalists) the lowing of a cow nor the voice of a herdsman was not heard from Dunquin, in Kerry, to Cashel in Munster.¹ It consisted in so placing garrisons as to confine the Irish to some narrow fastnesses. The English then destroyed the cattle and growing crops in the neighbourhood, and removed away or spoiled all those that bordered on those parts, that the enemy might find no succour; and the Irish being closely penned up, and their cattle prevented from running abroad, they were soon consumed, and the people starved,² "In one year and a half," says Spenser, "they were brought to such wretchedness, as any stony heart would have rued the sight. Out of every corner of the woods and glynnns they came forth on their hands, for their legs could not bear them,—they looked like anatomies of death, and spoke like ghosts crying out of the grave; they flocked to a plot of water-cresses as to a feast, though it afforded them small nourishment, and ate dead carrion, happy when they could find it, and soon after scraped the very carcases out of the graves."³ Yet this gentle poet only describes this warfare, and all its horrors, in order to recommend it for adoption by the Earl of Essex in the war then on foot against Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone; and suggested that Ulster and Connaught should be thus wasted, and that (to use his own words), after once entering into the course of reform, there be afterwards no remorse or drawing back for the sight of any such rueful objects.⁴ Essex, however, did not carry out

¹ "Annals of the Four Masters," at the year 1582.

² "View of the State of Ireland, written dialoguewise between Eudoxus and Ireneus, by Edmund Spenser, Esq., in the Year 1596," p. 526, vol. i. of "Collection of Tracts and Treatises illustrative of Ireland." 2 vols. 8vo. Alexander Thom. Dublin: 1860.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 531.

this ruthless plan ; but Lord Mountjoy, who superseded him, did, burning the houses and destroying the corn and cattle, till the dead lay unburied in the fields in thousands.¹

Carrian and corpses became the food of the survivors ; and, more horrible still, children were killed and eaten, and the poor wretches who killed them were tried and hanged for it by those that drove them to such horrors."² Archbishop Ussher, who was ordained on the very day that Tyrone's war was ended by the defeat of the Irish and Spaniards at Kinsale, and therefore speaks of what was within his own knowledge, relates how women were known to lie in wait, and to rush out, like famished wolves, upon a rider, to drag him from his saddle, and to seize and devour the horse.³ And Dean Barnard, his biographer and chaplain, who guarded his master's library at Drogheda during its long siege by the Irish in 1641 and 1642, says, the inhabitants being all destroyed by the English garrison for fifteen miles round, and the dogs only surviving, they fed on their masters' dead bodies, and had become so dangerous for passengers that the soldiers were careful to kill them also.⁴ The war in Ireland in 1650 was of the same nature ; but the resistance was more general ; for the ancient English, and all the towns, who were upon the Queen's side in Tyrone's, and all former wars, were now united with the Irish. The process consequently was longer, because the English forces were comparatively fewer : the methods were the same. It may seem strange to hear counted as military weapons issued from the store at Waterford, among swords, pikes, powder, shot, bandaliers and match,

¹ Fynes Morison's "Itinerary;" and "The History of Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone's, Rebellion, and its Suppression," p. 237. Folio. London : 1617.

² *Idem.*, p. 271.

³ "Life of Primate Ussher," by Dean Barnard, p. 67. 12mo. London : 1656.

⁴ "Dean Barnard's Siege of Drogheda."

" eighteen dozen of scythes with handles and rings, forty reape hooks, and whetstones and rubstones proportional;"¹ but with these the soldiers cut down the growing crop, in order to starve the Irish into submission.²

Not less strange is it to hear of the Bible being served out of store, with their other ammunition, to the army. Yet we find Bibles issued on 3rd August, 1652, by the Commissary of Stores to the several companies of foot and troops of horse within the precinct of Dublin, according to muster, one Bible to every file;³ and on the 17th of the same, 100 Bibles for the use of the forces within the precinct of Galway, for the propagation of the Gospel; and the several Commissaries of Musters were to see the Bibles regularly mustered and accounted for by the officer commanding each troop and company.⁴ Thus realizing literally Sir John Clotworthy's declaration, made a few years before, that religion must be propagated in Ireland with the Bible in one hand, and the sword in the other. For,

"Here, in the saddle of one steed,
The Saracen and Christian rid:
Was free of every spiritual order,
To preach and fight, and pray and murder."

And truly they had no bloodier instrument than the Bible in all their arsenal of war.

¹ $\frac{A}{2}$, p. 281.

² "Dublin, 1st July, 1650.—Last Monday, Colonel Hewson, with a considerable body from hence, marched into Wicklow. Colonel Hewson doth now intend to make use of scythes and sickles that were sent over in 1649, with which they intend to cut down the corn growing in those parts which the enemy is to live upon in the winter time, and thereby, for want of bread and cattle, the Tories may be left destitute of provisions, and so forced to submit and quit those places.—Dublin, 1st July, 1651."—Letter of the Commissioners for Ireland to the Parliament, $\frac{A}{2}$, p. 7.

³ $\frac{A}{2}$, p. 224.

⁴ Ibid., p. 304.

On the 1st January, 1651-2, the Parliament (so the Commissioners report) had in Ireland an army of 30,000 men ; but they had 350 garrisons and military posts to maintain, and 100 more to plant ; while the Irish had an equal number of men, all of them, except those in their towns and garrisons in Connaught, in woods, bogs, and other fastnesses of the greatest advantage to them, and from which there was no dislodging them. They describe the country as almost everywhere interlaced with great bogs, with firm woody grounds like islands in the middle, approached by a narrow pass where only one horse could go abreast, easily broken up, so as no horse could attack them ; but in and out the Irish could pass over the wet and quaking bog by ways known only to themselves, whereby they could attack or escape at pleasure. To place garrisons near their fastnesses, to lay waste the adjacent country, allowing none to inhabit there on pain of death, was the course taken to subdue the Irish.¹ The consequence was, that the country was reduced to a howling wilderness. In his circuitous march from Waterford to the siege of Limerick, in November, 1650—a distance, he says, of 150 Irish miles—Ireton passed through districts of thirty miles together, with hardly a house or any living creature to be seen, only ruins and desolation in a plain and pleasant land.² Three-fourths of the stock of cattle were destroyed. In 1653, cattle had to be imported from Wales into Dublin ;³ it required a license to kill lamb. Mrs. Alice Bulkeley, widow, on 17th March, 1652, “in consideration of her

¹ “Some particulars humbly offered to consideration, in order to the breaking of the enemy’s strength, and lessening the charge of England in managing the affairs of Ireland. Commissioners for Ireland to the Council of State in England, dated 1 January, 1652.” ^A ₂, p. 288.

² “Mercur. Polit.” p. 313.

³ Petty’s “Political Anatomy of Ireland,” 1672, vol. ii., p. 26. “Tracts and Treatises on Ireland.” Alexander Thom, Dublin : 1860.

ould age and weakness of body," was licensed to kill and dress, notwithstanding the Declaration of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland, so much lamb as should be necessary for her own use and eating, not exceeding three lambs for that whole year.¹ Tillage had ceased : the English themselves were near starving. Soldiers and officers were encouraged, therefore, to till the lands round their posts,² and such of the Irish not in arms as would come down from their fastnesses and raise crops within the line of a garrison, until the Parliament of England should declare their intentions towards the Irish nation, were promised the benefit of their tillage.³ The revenue from all sources, even in 1654, did not amount to £200,000 (exact, £198,000). The cost of the army exceeded £500,000.⁴ It became important, therefore, to come to some terms with the Irish. The Commissioners for Ireland reported that the natives were of opinion that the Parliament intended them no mercy. At length, on 12th May, 1652, the Leinster army of the Irish surrendered on terms signed at Kilkenny,⁵ which were adopted

¹ $\frac{A}{82}$, p. 721.

² Waste and untenanted lands to be let to officers and soldiers of the garrison for five years, from 25th March, 1653, at reasonable rents, free of contribution, on condition that they till and manure, and sow one-third of arable land with corn, and occupy. $\frac{A}{82}$, p. 12.

³ "The stock of cattle in this country are almost spent, so that above four parts in five of the best and most fertile lands in Ireland lye waste and uninhabited, which threatens great scarcity here; for prevention whereof, declarations have been issued forth for encouragement of the Irish to till their lands, promising them the enjoyment of their crop, as also for enforcing those that are removed to the mountains to return. Dublin, 1 July, 1651. Commissioners for Ireland to the Council of State in England." $\frac{A}{2}$, p. 12.

⁴ "Memoir on the Mapped Surveys of Ireland from 1640 to 1688, remaining in the late Auditor-General for Ireland's Office," by W. H. Hardinge, "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy" for 1862, p. 7.

⁵ $\frac{A}{90}$, p. 103.

successively by the other principal armies between that time and the September following, when the Ulster forces surrendered. By these Kilkenny articles, all except those who were guilty of the first blood, were received into protection, on laying down their arms ; those who should not be satisfied with the conclusions the Parliament might come to concerning the Irish nation, and should desire to transport themselves with their men to serve any foreign state in amity with the Parliament, should have liberty to treat with their agents for that purpose. But the Commissioners undertook faithfully and really to mediate with the Parliament to their utmost endeavours, that they might enjoy such a remnant of their lands as might make their lives comfortable who lived amongst them, or for the maintenance of the families of such of them as should go beyond seas.

SCHEMES FOR THE NEW PLANTING OF IRELAND.

Under this destructive system of war, the country was becoming a waste, without cattle, and without inhabitants. The taxation to support the army was continually increasing on the parts of the country under protection, and amounted to double the rent in the former times of peace. Soldiers who had taken farms were throwing them up.¹ The Irish under pro-

¹ 11 January, 1653. On reading the petition of the inhabitants of the barony of Shilelogher, in the county of Kilkenny, complaining of the assessment, the Commissioners of Revenue were directed, if they found that the persons who took waste lands in the said barony have deserted them, they are to compel such persons to stand to their agreements, and the rents and contributions payable by such persons to be allowed to the petitioners for the better enabling them to pay their monthly contribution [i. e. a like amount to be deducted from the monthly assessment of the barony, as the parties deserting their holdings ought to have paid]. $\frac{A}{82}$. p. 542.

7 January, 1655. On reading the petition of the inhabitants of the barony of Cranagh, in the county of Kilkenny, ordered, if it be true, as is suggested, that many have thrown up their farms which they had taken, casting them as a

tection were quitting the English quarters with their cattle, unable to endure the grinding taxation, and flying to the mountains again; and the charge to be supplied from England was continually increasing. There was only one remedy for these evils—to plant and inhabit the country, and reduce the army.

The officers of the army were eager to take Irish lands in lieu of their arrears,¹ though it does not appear that the common soldiers were, who had small debentures and no capital, and no chance of founding families and leaving estates to their posterity. But the Adventurers must be first settled with, as they had a claim to about one million of acres, to satisfy the sums advanced for putting down the rebellion on the faith of the Act of 17 Charles I. (A. D. 1642), and subsequent Acts and Ordinances, commonly called "The Acts of Subscription." By these, lands for the Adventurers must be first ascertained, before the rest of the country could be free for disposal by the Parliament to the army.

Pressed with these considerations, the Commissioners for Ireland, on the 1st of January, 1652, proposed to the Council of State in England, that the Adventurers should cast lots for their lands presently, notwithstanding the war was not over; and they suggested that four allotments, one in each province, amply sufficient to pay the Adventurers, should be made, and that they should then cast lots to ascertain in which of them their proportions should be fixed; the first lot to consist of the counties of Limerick, Kerry, and Clare in Munster; and Galway in Connaught; the second, of the counties of Kilkenny, Wexford,

burthen upon the said barony, that such persons stand to their bargains, and discharge the rents and duties falling on their holdings. ^A ₈₂, p. 523.

¹ "Some proposals humbly offered by a General Council of officers to the General and Commissioners of Parliament 22 October, 1652." Ib., p. 47.

Wicklow, and Carlow, in Leinster ; the third, of the counties of Westmeath and Longford in Leinster, and Cavan and Monaghan in Ulster ; the fourth of the counties of Fermanagh, and Donegal in Ulster, and Leitrim and Sligo in Connaught.¹ By which it appears, that they had not as yet determined on the transplantation of the Irish to Connaught, but still adhered to the plan of the Adventurers' Act, that the lands should be taken equally out of the four provinces. They also proposed that the soldiers should have land in their quarters, as well for their arrears as in lieu (for part at least) of their present pay. They would thus be encouraged to follow husbandry, and to maintain their own interest as well as that of the Commonwealth.² The Adventurers, therefore, were directed on 30th January, 1652, to attend the Committee of Parliament sitting in the Speaker's Chamber at Westminster, and propose a form of speedy plantation.

The Adventurers had been very urgent during the whole course of the war for lands to be set out to them. In 1645, they demanded to be put in possession of the houses belonging to the Irish in Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal, with lands adjacent, and to be given other lands in Munster as they should be conquered from the rebels.³ On 12th of May, 1652, the Committee of Parliament offered to move the House to have lands set out to them in Leinster and Munster to satisfy their adventures, if they would undertake to fully plant their proportions within three years from the 29th of September following, with Protestants of any nation (saving Irish). They should also have forfeited houses in seaports and walled towns at

¹ $\frac{A}{2}$, p. 290.

² $\frac{A}{2}$, p. 289.

³ P. 11, "Reasons offered by a Committee of Adventurers for refusing to lend Moneys on the Ordinance of 15th August, 1645, for raising Moneys for Ireland for six months from November, 1645." Small 4to. London.

easy rates on leases for years.¹ Now they declared, if the Parliament insisted on a speedy plantation, they were undone, The war was not over—people feared the Tories. No plan was proposed for their security. The Irish were to be removed. Men were hard to be got in England for tenants and labourers, as they saw that the government would have to give people land in Ireland for nothing, as there must be many millions of acres still left after satisfying the Adventurers and soldiers, which must be waste and untenanted, unless given away to prevent them from being reoccupied by the Irish. That labourers were scarce, by reason of the many forests and chaces lately disafforested in England, and then under improvement. There were many eminent persons, as the Earl of Cork and others, even in Munster, owners of estates not forfeited, but still desolated, who must replant them, and would outbid the Adventurers, unless they had good terms.² They accordingly demanded to be paid in lands, in such parts of Munster, Kilkenny, and (if need be) in other parts of Leinster most contiguous, as they should choose; that they should have the city of Waterford, and such towns as they should point out, preserved for them; that they should be well guarded.

But they refused to be put under conditions to plant in any limited time, and demanded that they should be free of taxes while planting. The lands, they said, were their own by dear purchase. As the counties were laid out, they could not plant together. Houses in towns they hoped to enjoy in fee,—not for years. They dared not build in that land of desolation till the Tories should be destroyed.³ Unless they should be greatly favoured, they must be forced to plant on such terms that the

¹ "Carte Papers," vol. lxx., p. 256.

² "Carte Papers," vol. lxx., p. 235.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

labourers would grow rich, and the Adventurers poor, as many did in New England. And if the first Adventurers should prove unsuccessful, it might cast such a damp upon the spirits of others, like a dismal discomfit in the beginning of a battle, as they would hardly be brought on again on any conditions.¹

The government, however, still pressed for a speedy plantation. They wished to limit them to three years, and the lands not then planted and inhabited to be forfeited. To which the Adventurers gave for final answer, that it would take 40,000 labourers and their families to execute such a work, for whom no housing was provided, no guards against Tories, and that to attempt it would be to destroy the plantation.²

The officers of the army were at the same time urging that the army should have lands set out to them forthwith for their arrears. There was no way of preventing a further increase of the charge that weighed upon England, but by planting the country, and reducing the forces by degrees, and with as much speed as might be consistent with safety. And they proposed that one or more counties should be allotted to the Adventurers, adequate to their demands, and others to the army, that so the planting by the Adventurers and by the gradually disbanding army might go on together. As the utmost speed was necessary for the relief of England, they proposed that the army should have lands for their arrears at the same rates as they were given by the Act of 1642 to the Adventurers, called the Act rates, namely, lands in Leinster at 12*s.* per acre; in Munster, at 8*s.*; in Connaught, at 6*s.*;

¹ Proposals of the Adventurers, dated April 5, 1652. *Carte MSS.*, Bodleian Library, "Ireland," vol. x., pp. 230-236.

² "Adventurers' remarks upon the Proposals of the Committee of Parliament for the Planting of Ireland, sitting in the Speaker's Chamber, 23rd December, 1652." *Ib.*, p. 257.

and in Ulster, at 4*s.* To value the several estates and farms in a convenient time, would require more fit valuers than could be found, would cost more than the revenue could bear, and the army and its pay (drawn from England) must continue. Moreover, it would be a very uncertain valuation, the lands being in many places waste, the inhabitants destroyed or gone, so as there were none to give evidence of the value when they were inhabited. And, lastly, the Ordinance of the year 1643, allowing officers of the army to become Adventurers to the extent of their pay on the same terms as the Adventurers, was a precedent for paying the whole army their arrears now at the Act rates.¹ On 23rd December, 1652, pursuant to this reasoning, the Committee of Parliament reported to the House that the ten counties after mentioned should be set out between the Adventurers and Soldiers, at the same rates to soldiers as Adventurers; the soldiers' proportions to be measured out to them according to the number of acres, and not according to the yearly value. The private soldiers, troopers, and non-commissioned officers to have their lots at the same rates as Adventurers; all lieutenants of horse and foot, cornets, ensigns, and quarter-masters at two-thirds of the same rates; all captains, and officers above that degree, at half those rates, as encouragement plainly to the rank and file of the army to plant. With the same view, if any private soldier of horse or foot should desire to have an allowance in gross for his arrears, the Committee suggested that he should have ten acres of land for every year of his service.²

DEPARTURE OF THE SWORDMEN FOR SPAIN.

But one of the first steps towards planting was to get rid of the disbanded Irish soldiery. Foreign nations were ap-

¹ $\frac{A}{82}$, p. 391.

² "Carte Papers." Vol. lxx., p. 253.

prised by the Kilkenny Articles that the Irish were to be allowed to engage in the service of any state in amity with the Commonwealth. The valour of the Irish soldier was well known abroad. From the time of the Munster Plantation by Queen Elizabeth, numerous exiles had taken service in the Spanish army. There were Irish regiments serving in the Low Countries. The Prince of Orange declared they were born soldiers;¹ and Henry IV. of France publicly called Hugh O'Neil the third soldier of the age,² and he said there was no nation made better troops than the Irish when drilled. Sir John Norris, who had served in many countries, said he knew no nation where there were so few fools or cowards. Agents from the King of Spain, the King of Poland, and the Prince de Conde, were now contending for the services of Irish troops. Don Ricardo White, in May, 1652, shipped 7000 in batches from Waterford, Kinsale, Galway, Limerick, and Bantry, for the King of Spain.³ Colonel Christopher Mayo got liberty in September, 1652, to beat his drums to raise 3000 for the same king.⁴ Lord Muskerry took 5000 to the King of

¹ "There lives not a people more hardy, active, and painful, neither is there any will endure the miseries of warre, as famine, watching, heat, cold, wet, travel, and the like, so naturally, and with such facility and courage that they do. The Prince of Orange's Excellency uses often publicquely to deliver that the Irish are souldiers the first day of their birth. The famous Henry IV., late King of France, said there would prove no nation so resolute martial men as they, would they be ruly, and not too headstrong. And Sir John Norris was wont to ascribe this particular to that nation above others, that he never beheld so few of any country as of Irish that were idiots and cowards, which is very notable." P. 219, "Advertisement for Ireland," MS., folio (A. D. 1615), Library of Trin. Coll., Dublin, F. 3, 16.

² "Se ipsum primum esse significans," &c., "meaning himself to be the first, and the illustrious Count de Fuentes the second; as testified to this day by the most noble the Count D'Ossunia, late Viceroy of Naples and Sicily, in whose presence he said so." Lynch's "Alithinologia," vol. ii., p. 50.

³ A
82, p. 205.

⁴ Ib., p. 331.

Poland.¹ In July, 1654, 3500, commanded by Colonel Edmund Dwyer, went to serve the Prince de Condé.² Sir Walter Dungan and others got liberty to beat their drums in different garrisons to a rallying of their men that laid down arms with them in order to a rendezvous, and to depart for Spain.³ They got permission to march their men together to the different ports, their pipers perhaps playing "Ha til, Ha til, Ha til, mi tulidh"—We return, we return no more;⁴ or more probably, after their first burst of passionate grief at leaving home and friends for ever was over, marching gaily to the lively strains of Garryowen. Between 1651 and 1654, thirty four thousand (of whom few ever saw their loved native land again) were transported into foreign parts.⁵

THE SEIZING OF WIDOWS, GIRLS, AND ORPHANS TO SEND TO
THE BARBADOES.

While the Government were thus employed in clearing the ground for the Adventurers and soldiers, by making the nobility and gentry of Ireland withdraw to Connaught and the

¹ "On reading the within petition of John Gould, in behalf of the Lord Muskerry, who has license to transport 5000 men out of Ireland to the service of any prince in amity with the Commonwealth, praying that while his lord is now in treaty with the Polish ambassador for those men they may not be transplanted: It is ordered, &c. . . . Dublin, 12th February, 1655." ^A
⁴, p. 426.

² ^A
³² p. 112.

³ ^A
⁸⁴, p. 342.

⁴ The tune with which the departing Highlanders usually bid farewell to their native shores. Preface to Sir Walter Scott's "Legend of Montrose."

⁵ Sir W. Petty's "Political Anatomy" (published A.D. 1672), p. 27. "The chiefest and eminentest of the nobility and many of the gentry have taken conditions from the King of Spain, and have transported 40,000 of the most active spirited men, most acquainted with the dangers and discipline of war." P. 20. "The Great Case of Transplantation in Ireland discussed," [by Vincent Gookin] Small 4to. London: 1655.

soldiery to Spain, "where they could wish the whole nation,"¹ they had agents actively employed through Ireland, seizing women, orphans, and the destitute, to be transported to Barbadoes and the English Plantations in America. It was a measure beneficial they said to Ireland, which was thus relieved of a population that might trouble the Planters; it was a benefit to the people removed, who might thus be made English and Christians;² and a great benefit to the West India sugar planters, who desired the men and boys for their bondmen, and the women and Irish girls in a country where they had only Maroon women and Negresses to solace them. The thirteen years' war, from 1641 to 1654, followed by the departure of 40,000 Irish soldiers, with the chief nobility and gentry, to Spain, had left behind a vast mass of widows and deserted wives with destitute families. There were plenty of other persons too, who, as their ancient properties had been confiscated, "had no visible means of livelihood." Just as the King of Spain sent over his agents to treat with the Government for the Irish swordmen, the merchants of Bristol had agents treating with it for men, women, and girls, to be sent to the sugar plantations in the West Indies. The Commissioners for Ireland gave them orders upon the governors of garrisons, to deliver to them prisoners of war; upon the keepers of gaols, for offenders in custody; upon masters of workhouses, for the destitute in their care "who were of an age to labour, or if women were marriageable and not past breeding;" and gave directions to all in authority to seize those who had no visible means of livelihood, and de-

¹ "The garrison of Roscommon Castle yielded upon that which we adjudged moderate terms amongst us, which is, for the Government to transport a regiment for Spain, *where we could wish the whole nation.*" Letter from Athlone, 12th April, 1652. "Several Proceedings in Parliament," &c., p. 2146.

² Letter of Henry Cromwell, 4th Thurloe's "State Papers."

liver them to these agents of the Bristol sugar merchants, in execution of which latter direction Ireland must have exhibited scenes in every part like the slave hunts in Africa. How many girls of gentle birth must have been caught and hurried to the private prisons of these men-catchers none can tell. We are told of one case. Daniel Connery, a gentleman of Clare, was sentenced, in Morison's presence, to banishment, in 1657, by Colonel Henry Ingoldsby, for harbouring a priest. "This gentleman had a wife and twelve children. His wife fell sick, and died in poverty. Three of his daughters, beautiful girls, were transported to the West Indies, to an island called the Barbadoes; and there, if still alive (he says) they are miserable slaves."¹ But at last the evil became too shocking and notorious, particularly when these dealers in Irish flesh began to seize the daughters and children of the English themselves, and to force them on board their slave ships; then, indeed, the orders, at the end of four years, were revoked.

Messrs. Sellick and Leader, Mr. Robert Yeomans, Mr. Joseph Lawrence, and others, all of Bristol, were active agents. As one instance out of many:—Captain John Vernon was employed by the Commissioners for Ireland into England, and contracted in their behalf with Mr. David Sellick and Mr. Leader under his hand, bearing date the 14th September, 1653, to supply them with two hundred and fifty women of the Irish nation above twelve years, and under the age of forty-five, also three hundred men above twelve years of age, and under fifty, to be found in the country within twenty miles of Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, Waterford, and Wexford, to transport them into New England.² Messrs. Sellick and Leader appointed their shipping to repair to Kinsale; but

¹ Morison's "Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica," Innsbruck, 1659, p. 287.

² A
84, p. 663.

Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill (afterwards Earl of Orrery), whose name, like that of Sir C. Coote, seems ever the prelude of woe to the Irish, suggested that the required number of men and women might be had from among the wanderers and persons who had no means of getting their livelihood in the county of Cork alone. Accordingly, on the 23rd of October, 1653, he was empowered to search for them and arrest them, and to deliver them to Messrs. Sellick and Leader, who were to be at all the charge of conducting them to the water side, and maintaining them from the time they received them ; and no person, being once apprehended, was to be released but by special order in writing under the hand of Lord Broghill.¹

Again, in January, 1654, the Governors of Carlow, Kilkenny, Clonmel, Wexford, Ross, and Waterford, had orders to arrest and deliver to Captain Thomas Morgan, Dudley North, and John Johnson, English merchants, all wanderers, men and women, and such other Irish within their precincts as should not prove they had such settled course of industry as yielded them a means of their own to maintain them, all such children as were in hospitals or workhouses, all prisoners, men and women, to be transported to the West Indies. The governors were to guard the prisoners to the ports of shipping ; but the prisoners were to be provided for and maintained by the said contractors, and none to be discharged except by order under the hand and seal of the governor ordering the arrest.² It is easy to imagine the deeds done under such a power ! On the 22nd December of the same year, orders were issued prohibiting all the shipping in any harbour in Ireland bound for Barbadoes, and other English plantations, from weighing anchor until searched, in order that any persons found to have been seized without warrant should be delivered.

¹ $\frac{A}{84}$, p. 663.

² $\frac{A}{85}$, p. 66.

All measures, however, were vain to prevent the most cruel captures as long as these English slave dealers had recourse to Ireland. In the course of four years they had seized and shipped about 6400 Irish, men and women, boys and maidens, when on the 4th of March, 1655, all orders were revoked. These men-catchers employed persons (so runs the order) "to delude poor people by false pretences into by-places, and thence they forced them on board their ships. The persons employed had so much a piece for all they so deluded, and for the money sake they were found to have enticed and forced women from their children and husbands,—children from their parents, who maintained them at school; and they had not only dealt so with the Irish, but also with the English,"—which last was the true cause, probably, of the Commissioners for Ireland putting an end to these proceedings.¹

Yet not quite an end.

In 1655 Admiral Penn added Jamaica to the empire of England; and, colonists being wanted, the Lord Protector applied to the Lord Henry Cromwell, then Major-General of the Forces in Ireland, to engage 1500 of the soldiers of the army in Ireland to go thither as planters, and to secure a thousand young Irish girls ("Irish wenches" is Secretary Thurloe's term), to be sent there also.² Henry Cromwell answered that there would be no difficulty, only that force must be used in taking them;³ and he suggested the addition of from 1500 to 2000 boys of from twelve to fourteen years of age. "We could well spare them," he adds, "and they might be of use to you; and who knows but it might be a means to make them Englishmen—I mean, Christians?"⁴

¹ $\frac{A}{10}$, p. 283.

³ Ib., p. 23.

² 4th vol. Thurloe's "State Papers," p. 75.

⁴ Ib., p. 40.

The numbers finally fixed were 1000 boys, and 1000 girls, to sail from Galway in October, 1655,¹—the boys as bondmen, probably, and the girls to be bound by other ties to these English soldiers in Jamaica.²

IRELAND ASSIGNED TO THE ADVENTURERS AND SOLDIERS.

The discussions concerning the setting out of lands to the Adventurers and soldiers carried on between the Council of the army and the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland in that kingdom, and between the Committee of Parliament and the Adventurers in England, occupied the whole of the year 1652; but caused in point of fact no loss of time, for the war was still raging, and there could be no planting.

Towards the close of the year 1653, the island seemed sufficiently desolated to allow the English to occupy it. On the 26th of September in that year, the Parliament passed an Act for the new planting of Ireland with English.

The government reserved for themselves all the towns, all the church lands and tithes; for they abolished all archbishops, bishops, deans, and other officers, belonging to that hierarchy, and in those days the Church of Christ sat in Chichester House on College-green.³ They reserved also for themselves the four counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Cork. Out of the houses, lands, and tithes, thus reserved, the

¹ 4th vol. Thurloe's "State Papers," p. 100.

² Müller, the painter at Berlin, was stated to be engaged in 1859, on a picture representing the seizing and transporting of these Irish girls to the West Indies. See the Newspapers of the 21st Feb., 1859.

³ "Whereas Mr. Thomas Hicks is by the Church of Christ meeting at Chichester House approved as one fully qualified to preach and dispense the gospel . . . he is appointed to preach the gospel at Stillorgan, and other places in the barony of Rathdown, in the county of Dublin, as often as the Lord shall enable him, and in such places as the Lord shall make his ministry most effectual. Dated 12th September, 1659. THOMAS HERBERT, Clerk of the Council." "Book of Establishments," p. 181.

government were to satisfy public debts, private favourites, eminent friends of the republican cause in Parliament, regicides, and the most active of the English rebels, not being of the army.

They next made ample provision for the Adventurers. The amount due to the Adventurers was £360,000. This they divided into three lots, of which £110,000 was to be satisfied in Munster, £205,000 in Leinster, and £45,000 in Ulster, and the moiety of ten counties was charged with their payment;—Waterford, Limerick, and Tipperary, in Munster; Meath, Westmeath, King's and Queen's Counties in Leinster; and Antrim, Down, and Armagh, in Ulster. But, as all was required by the Adventurers' Act to be done by lot, a lottery was appointed to be held in Grocers' Hall, London, for the 20th July, 1653, to begin at 8 o'clock in the morning, when lots should be first drawn in which province each Adventurer was to be satisfied, not exceeding the specified amounts in any province; lots were to be drawn, secondly, to ascertain in which of the ten counties each Adventurer was to receive his land—the lots not to exceed in Westmeath £70,000, in Tipperary £60,000, in Meath £55,000, in King's and Queen's Counties £40,000 each, in Limerick £30,000, in Waterford 20,000, in Antrim, Down, and Armagh, £15,000 each. And, as it was thought it would be a great encouragement to the Adventurers (who were for the most part merchants and tradesmen), about to plant in so wild and dangerous a country, not yet subdued, to have soldier planters near them, these ten counties, when surveyed (which was directed to be done immediately, and returned to the committee for the lottery at Grocers' Hall), were to be divided, each county, by baronies, into two moieties, as equally as might be, without dividing any barony. A lot was then to be drawn by the Adventurers, and by some officer appointed by the Lord General Cromwell on

behalf of the soldiery, to ascertain which baronies in the ten counties should be for the Adventurers, and which for the soldiers.

The rest of Ireland, except Connaught, was to be set out amongst the officers and soldiers, for their arrears, amounting to £1,550,000, and to satisfy debts of money or provisions due for supplies advanced to the army of the Commonwealth, amounting to £1,750,000. Connaught was by the Parliament reserved and appointed for the habitation of the Irish nation; and all English and Protestants having lands there, who should desire to remove out of Connaught into the provinces inhabited by the English, were to receive estates in the English parts, of equal value, in exchange.¹

¹ "For the satisfaction of the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, out of the arrears due to the Soldiery here, and of other Publique Debts." Soobell's "Acts and Ordinances for the year 1653," chap. xii.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TRANSPLANTATION.

THE FIRST TRUMPET.

WHEN the Irish forces laid down arms in 1650, they could scarce have anticipated the measures adopted towards them, two years later, by the Parliament of England. Many of the Irish gentry embarked, in the years 1650 and 1651, for Spain. Those who stayed behind had families, that prevented them from following their example ; they returned to their former neighbourhoods, took up their abode in the offices attached to their mansions, or shared the dwellings of some of their late tenants,—their mansions being occupied by some English officer or soldier,—and employed themselves in tilling the lands they had lately owned as lords. Let us conceive the dismay of a poor nobleman, with his wife and daughters, thus employed on the evening of the first market day, after the 11th October, 1652, when some neighbour came to announce the news proclaimed by beat of drum and sound of trumpet in the adjoining town.¹ It was, in fact, the proscription of the nation. If he had been a colonel or a superior officer in the army, as almost all the highest were, it was a sentence

¹ “The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England having by one Act lately passed (entitled an Act for the Settling of Ireland) declared that *it is not their intention to extirpate this whole nation*, but that mercy and pardon for life and estate be extended to all husbandmen, plowmen, labourers, artificers, and others of the inferior sort, in such manner as in and by the said Act is set forth; for the better execution of the said Act, and that timely notice may be given to all persons therein concerned, it is ordered that the Governor and Commissioners of Revenue, or any two or more of them, within every precinct

of confiscation and banishment ; and a separation from his now beggared wife and daughters, the partners of his miseries, unless he had the means of bringing them abroad with him.

The Earl of Ormond, Primate Bramhall, and all the Catholic nobility, and many of the gentry, were declared incapable of pardon of life or estate, and were banished. The rest of the nation were to lose their lands, and take up their residence wherever the Parliament of England should order.¹ On 26th September, 1653, all the ancient estates and farms of the people of Ireland were declared to belong to the Adventurers and the army of England ; and it was announced that the Parliament had assigned Connaught (America was not then accessible), for the habitation of the Irish nation, whither they must transplant with their wives, and daughters, and children, before the 1st of May following (1654), under penalty of death, if found on this side of the Shannon after that day.

It might, perhaps, be imagined that this fearful sentence was a penalty upon the Irish for the supposed massacre of 300,000 English. But death, not banishment, was the punishment of blood ; and the class most likely to be guilty of blood,—the ploughmen, labourers, and others of the lower order of poor people,—were excepted from transplantation.

in this nation, do cause the said Act of Parliament with this present declaration to be published and proclaimed in their respective precincts by beat of drumme and sound of trumpett, on some markett day, within tenn days after the same shall come unto them within their respective precincts.

" Dated at the Castle of Kilkenny, this 11th October, 1652.

" EDMUND LUDLOW, MILES CORBET,
" JOHN JONES, R. WEAVER."

^A
₈₂, p. 367.

¹ Act for the Settling of Ireland, passed 12th August, 1652. Scobell's "Acts and Ordinances."

They willingly entertained all the young and laborious commonalty, who were ever most active and ready for mischief; they banished only from amongst them the more cautious and prudent proprietors, said Sir Robert Talbot and Colonel Moore.¹ The nobility and gentry of ancient descent, proprietors of landed estates, were incapable of murder or massacre; but it was they that were particularly required to transplant. Their properties were wanted for the new English Planters. The Ulster gentry (writes Sir George Hamilton to Ormonde on 1st July, 1659) are all transplanted to Leitrim; but the common people remain, and are eager for action.² There is an anecdote told by an English monk of the order of the Friars Minors, who must have dwelt, disguised probably (a not uncommon incident), as a soldier or servant, in the household of Colonel Ingoldsby, Governor of Limerick, that explains the reason why the common people were to be allowed to stay, and the gentry required to transplant. He heard the question asked of a great Protestant statesman ("magnus hereticus consiliarius"), who gave three reasons for it:—First, he said, they are useful to the English as earth-tillers and herdsmen; secondly, deprived of their priests and gentry, and living among the English, it is hoped they will become Protestants; and, thirdly, the gentry without their aid must work for themselves and their families, and so in time turn into common peasants, or die if they don't.³

¹ Petition of the Irish Nobility and Gentry, presented to the King in 1660.

² Dated "The Hague." *Carte Papers*, cxxiii., 189.

³ "Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica, sive Planctus universalis totius Cleri et Populi Regni Hiberniae," &c. ["The Wail of the Irish Catholics; or, Groans of the whole Clergy and People of the Kingdom of Ireland, in which is truly set forth an Epitome of the unheard of and transcendental Cruelty by which the Catholics of the Kingdom of Ireland are oppressed under the Arch Tyrant Cromwell, the Usurper and Destroyer of the three Realms of England, Ireland,

And Gookin having remarked upon the anomaly of transplanting those who could not be conceived guilty of murders, and allowing the class most capable of them to stay, Colonel Lawrence in answer appeals to the Act and Orders for transplantation, and asks, "Is there in all this one word tending to ground transplantation on the principles of punishment or avenging of blood?" Its end, he said, was to settle Ireland for the future.¹

The truth is, that the Parliament had, in 1642, confiscated by anticipation 2,500,000 acres (one-fourth of Ireland), to be taken equally out of the four provinces, and had sold them to the Adventurers. It was now perceived that it would trouble both the comfort and safety of the new Planters to have the former owners of these lands, with their ruined families, living intermixed with them. For if any Englishman were so bad natured as to be deaf to their murmurings and complainings, says Colonel Lawrence, few would be so stupid, after they came to know their danger, as to continue to hazard their costs and improvements, their persons, families, and posterity, in the neighbourhood of those that, upon principle, were bound to hate and contrive the ruin of him and his, as long as he lived there.²

The Parliament, therefore, in 1652, confiscated the whole of Ireland; but they allotted Connaught to the Irish, in order that the new English might plant and inhabit the three other provinces in security. All the Irish (according to

and Scotland," p. 25.] By F. Maurice Morison, of the Minors of Strict Observance, Lecturer in Theology, an Eye-witness of those Cruelties. Innsbruck. A. D. 1659. 12mo. The book is dedicated to his worthy patron, Don Guidobald, Archbiishop of Salzburg, and to the dean and canons there.

¹ Lawrence's "Interest of England in the Transplantation Stated," p. 11. [Printed A. D. 1656].

² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

the original scheme of the Parliament), except those who had adopted the religion of the English nation, were to transplant thither, on the presumption that they did not love the English. Such of them only were to be permitted to return back to their former homes and lands as could prove a Constant Good Affection to the enemy of their religion, name, and nation, during the ten years' war just ended. Like the Platæans who surrendered to the Spartans, on the terms that none but the guilty should be punished, and to escape the sentence of death, were each asked "what service could he show that he had done to the Spartans or their allies?" the Irish were required to obtain a decree from a Court of English judges set up at Athlone, of Constant Good Affection to the Parliament, else he and his posterity were for ever to dwell in banishment in Connaught. It was not enough to have dwelt quietly at their homes, if these homes lay in the Irish quarters, doing nothing (and the English had not victuals for them in their garrisons, if they had dared to present themselves there); nor to have shown Much Good Affection. The decree must be for Constant Good Affection. Thus, the ancient inhabitants of Kinsale were all of English blood, but of Irish religion, and had manned the walls for eight years with the English garrison against their own countrymen; yet, because they paid taxes levied there by the Earl of Inchiquin for the king, in 1648, when he revolted from the Parliament to the royal cause, they lost their claim to Constant Good Affection, and were ordered to transplant to Connaught.¹ "I appeal to those who knew the condition of Ireland in those times," says Vincent Gookin, "whether these instructions adhered to would not transplant every man? How was it possible to escape compliance when the English were hemmed into their very gates, and the whole country a wild road for the rebels."²

¹ See "Mallow Proceedings," further on.

² "Author and Case of Transplantation Vindicated," &c., p. 24.

The exception, too, of husbandmen, ploughmen, and others of the lower ranks, did not save them for the use of the English, as was intended; for all swordmen were to transplant, and in this term were included all who had attended muster, though compelled by their landlords, and any who kept watch and ward, which comprised almost every one. For their share in the war, or not proving a Constant Good Affection to the Parliament of England, the proprietors of lands were to suffer a loss of the greater part of their estates, and to receive an equivalent for the residue in Connaught, for the support of themselves and their families.

THE SECOND AND LAST TRUMPET, WITH THE DOOM OF THE
IRISH NATION.

Connaught was selected for the habitation of the Irish nation by reason of its being surrounded by the sea and the Shannon, all but ten miles, and the whole easily made into one line by a few forts.¹ To further secure the imprisonment of the nation, and cut them off from relief by sea, a belt four miles wide, commencing one mile to the west of Sligo, and so winging along the coast and Shannon, was reserved by the Act of 27th September, 1653, from being set out to the Irish, and was to be given to the soldiery to plant. Thither all the Irish were to remove at latest by the first day of May, 1654, except Irishwomen married to English Protestants before the 2nd December, 1650, provided they became Protestants; except also boys under fourteen, and girls under twelve, in Protestant service and to be brought up Protestants; and, lastly, those who had shown during the ten years' war in Ire-

¹ 9th March, 1654-5. Order. Passes over the Shannon between Jamestown and Sligo to be closed, so as to make one entire line between Connaught and the adjacent parts of Leinster and Ulster. ^A 85.

land their Constant Good Affection to the Parliament of England in preference to the King. There they were to dwell without entering a walled town or coming within five miles of some, on pain of death. All were to remove thither by the 1st of May, 1654, at latest, under pain of being put to death by sentence of a court of military officers, if found after that date on the English side of the Shannon.¹

Connaught was at this time the most wasted province in the kingdom. Sir Charles Coote the younger, disregarding the truce or Cessation made by order of the king with the Irish in 1643, had continued to ravage it, like another Attila, with fire and sword.² The order was for the flight of the Irish nation thither in winter time, their nobles, their gentry, and their commons, with their wives and little children, their young maidens and old men, their cattle, and their household goods.

The officers of the army were themselves struck with the difficulties of executing the orders of the Parliament of England. The gentry and farmers were then engaged in harvesting the crop they had been encouraged to plant on account of the scarcity. The whole nation, panic-struck at having to travel during the winter to Connaught, and to abandon the lands they were still in occupation of, were deprived of all motive to go on with their tillage. The country must next

¹ "The further Instructions confirmed by this Act." Act for the satisfaction of the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland and Arrears due to the Souldiery there. 26 September, 1653. Seobell's "Acts and Ordinances," Anno 1653, chap. xii.

² P. 58, vol. 1st, "Alithinologia; sive Veridica Responsio, &c. [in English]. A true Answer to the Attack of R. F. [Richard Farrel], Capuchin, full of Lies, Fallacies, and Calumnies against a large body of the Clergy, Nobility, and Irish of every rank, presented to the Propaganda in the year 1659. By Eudoxius Alithinologus [John Lynch, Priest, Archdeacon of Tuam.]" Printed at St. Malo', 1664. 2 vols. 4to.

year be a waste, for the soldiers could not be put in possession in time to sow. Then there was the possibility that the Irish generally might decline to remove, and incur all penalties, and prefer death itself to transplanting under such difficulties.

The officers communicated their thoughts to the Commissioners for the Government of Ireland, who communicated them to the Council of State in England.

The Commissioners for Ireland, to use their own expressions, were overwhelmed with a sense of their difficulties, and of their own unworthiness and weakness for so great a service. They felt they had neither wisdom nor strength for such matters; and that they might truly say, "The children are now come to the birth, and much is desired and expected, but there is no strength to bring forth."

They therefore fasted, and enjoined the same thing on all Christian friends in Ireland, and invited the commanders and officers of the army to join them in lifting up prayers with strong crying and tears to Him to whom nothing is too hard, that His servants, whom He had called forth in this day to act in these great transactions, might be made faithful, and carried on by His own outstretched arm against all opposition and difficulty, to do what was pleasing in His sight.¹

Meantime they proceeded, as in duty bound, to carry out the law. They issued their orders, dated the 15th October, 1653, for the better carrying on the great work. Fathers and heads of families were to proceed before 30th January, 1654, to Loughrea, to commissioners appointed to set them out

¹ Letter, dated 9th November, 1653, from the Commissioners for Ireland "to the commanders of the respective precincts, to be communicated to the rest of our Christian friends there." ^A 90, p. 555.

lands competent to the stock possessed by them and by the tenants and friends who were to transplant with them. They were there to build huts against the arrival of their wives and families, who were to follow before the 1st of May. The commissioners were to be guided by a statement, or Particular, which each proprietor, before leaving home, was to present to the revenue officer of the precinct for his certificate. It set forth the abode, names, ages, stature, colour of the hair, and other marks of distinction, of the transplanter and his family, and of all his tenants and friends who were to accompany him into Connaught, together with the number of their cattle, quantity and quality of tillage, and other substance.¹ From the grey-haired sire of seventy, to the blue-eyed daughter of four years old, the family portraiture is given in these transplanters' certificates. Sometimes there is a long list of tenants and friends, and sheep and cattle, accompanying the chief proprietor of the district into exile, like the pictures of the descent of the Israelites into Egypt. In others, a landlord, who perhaps had rendered himself distasteful to his tenants, has none to accompany him; for tenants were not required to adhere to their landlord; they might sit down in Connaught as tenants under the State. Occasionally in these certificates is described a gentleman, like Sir Nicholas Comyn, of Limerick precinct, "numb at one side of his body of a dead palsy, accompanied only by his Lady, Catherine Comyn, aged thirty-five years, flaxen-haired, middle stature; and one maid servant, Honor ny MⁿNamara, aged twenty years, brown hair, middle stature; having no substance, but expecting the benefit of his qualification." Or orphans; as, "Ignatius Stacpoole, of Limerick, orphan, aged eleven years, flaxen haire,

¹ From a printed copy (original), preserved in the muniment room, Kilkenny Castle.

full face, low stature ; Katherine Stacpoole, orphan, sister to the said Ignatius, aged eight years, flaxen haire, full face ; having no substance to relieve themselves, but desireth the benefit of his claim before the Commissioners of the Revenue."¹

James, Lord Dunboyne, in the county of Tipperary, describes himself as likely to be accompanied by twenty-one followers, and as having four cows, ten garrans, and two swine.² Dame Katherine Morris, of Lathragh, in the same county ; thirty-five followers, one and a half acre of summer corne, ten cows, sixteen garrans, nineteen goats, two swine. Lady Mary Hamerton, of Roscrea : forty-five persons, three and a half acres of summer corn, forty cows, thirty garrans, forty-six sheepe, two goats.³ Pierce, Lord Viscount Ikerrin : seventeen persons, sixteen acres of winter corne, four cows, five garrans, twenty-four sheep, two swine. For each acre of winter corn, three acres of land were to be assigned, summer corn and fallow being included ; for each cow or bullock (of two years old and upwards), three acres ; for each yearling one acre ; for each garran, nag, or mare (of three years old and upwards), four acres ; for every three sheep, one acre ; and for goats and swine proportionably.⁴ These assignments were only conditional ; for at a future day other commissioners were to arrive and sit at Athlone, to determine the claims, i. e. the extent of lands the transplanter had left behind him, and to distinguish the qualifications, i. e. the extent of disaffection to the Parliament, by which the proportion to

¹ Pp. 12, 13, Book of Transplanters' Certificates, in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

² Ib. Among the records of the late Auditor-General's Office, Custom House Buildings.

³ Ib. Ib.

⁴ $\frac{A}{90}$, p. 629.

be confiscated was to be regulated, and an equivalent, called a Final Settlement, was to be given in Connaught. These first assignments were technically called Assignments de Bene Esse.

REMONSTRANCES OF THE IRISH.

And now there went forth petitions from every quarter of the kingdom, praying that the petitioners' flight might not be in the winter time ; or alleging that their wives or children were sick, their cattle unfit to drive,—that they had crops to get in. Some were still collecting men for transport to Spain. Others had claims to exemption, under articles of war. All sought a dispensation.

The petitioners were the noble and the wealthy, men of ancient English blood, descendants of the invaders—the Fitzgeralds, the Butlers, the Plunkets, the Barnwalls, Dillons, Cheevers, Cusacks, names found appended to various schemes for extirpating or transplanting the Irish after the subduing of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald's rebellion in 1535. They were now to transplant as Irish. The native Irish were too poor to pay scriveners and messengers to the Council, and their sorrows were unheard, though under their rough coats beat hearts that felt pangs as great at being driven from their native homes as the highest in the land. The first dispensations were limited within the 1st of May, the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland not being empowered to dispense from compliance with the Act of Parliament. But they represented to the Council of State in London (which had legislative power while Parliament was not sitting) that all tillage would cease unless people were encouraged to put in a crop with the prospect of reaping it. Powers were accordingly given to them to grant dispensations for the wives and children and necessary servants of those who should crop their land, who were

to be permitted, in case the father or head of the family should have complied with the orders of the state, and have removed into Connaught, to stay behind with not more than one or two servants to watch the corn in the ground, and to attend to the threshing and "inning" of it.¹ But from the 1st of May, 1654, their estates would be either taken possession of by the soldiers, or let by the state to other tenants, to whom they must pay for the standing of their crop from that date till removed, an eighth or a fifth sheaf, according to the custom of the country.

The estate now called Woodlands, the seat of Lord Annaly, adjoining the Phoenix Park, Dublin, formerly known as Luttrellstown, was the seat of the Luttrells, from the days of King John until sold, about seventy years ago, by Luttrell, Lord Carhampton, to the ancestor of Lord Annaly.

Thomas Luttrell, the owner, though strongly attached to the English interest, as appeared by his getting a decree at

¹ "Commissioners for Ireland to Colonel Foulke, Governor of Tredagh, and the Commissioners of Revenue there."

"GENTLEMEN.—The Commissioners of the Commonwealth of England for the Affairs of Ireland have read your letter of the 25th instant, declaring that several persons removing from your parts into Connaught desire some time to stay for their wives, children, and stock, for the better enabling them to travel, and that it is your judgment that by their short stay the contribution will be the better secured. They have commanded me to signify that you may suspend the transplantation of such wives and children (whose husbands and parents are to go into Connacht) for such time as you shall judge fit, not exceeding the 1st July next, and may permit the stay of their cattle until they be in a condition to drive, allowing but one servant to look after the respective herds or flocks, and such servants to be neither proprietors nor such as have been in arms against the Commonwealth.

"THOS. HERBERT, Clerk of the Council.

"Cork House, 27th April, 1654." ^A ₉₀, p. 668.

Athlone, in 1658, of Good, though not Constant Good Affection,¹ was obliged, as an Irish Papist, to make way, when Lord Ormond handed over Dublin, and the sword of state, in 1647, to the Parliament, for Lord Broghill, who was afterwards succeeded as tenant to the state by Colonel Hewson, Governor of Dublin. In 1652, Luttrell got permission to occupy the stables and till the land.²

On the 30th of September, 1654, he was dispensed from being transplanted until the 1st of December following, in "regard his whole livelihood and his family's depended on improving the crop of corn that was then in taking off the ground."³ On the 15th of March, 1655, upon his inability, through his weakness by sickness, to travel into Connaught, he was further dispensed till the 1st June.⁴ Before this time, however, he had departed, leaving his wife behind; for on the 18th of May she was dispensed until the 1st of June following, on her representation that her husband was already transplanted, and that she had a great charge of children and stock which were not yet in a condition to drive.⁵

But often the owners were transplanted, and got liberty to return to reap their crop, or to send back their servants. Thus, John Talbot, ancestor of Lord Talbot de Malahide, had to yield his castle to Chief Baron Corbet, and transplant, and in April, 1655, got a pass for safe travelling from Connaught to the county of Dublin to dispose of his corn and other goods, giving security to return within the time limited.⁶

Considerable difficulties arose about these allowances between the families of the transplanted, left behind to watch

¹ $\frac{A}{22}$, p. 149.

² $\frac{A}{82}$, p. 515; ib., p. 534.

³ $\frac{A}{4}$, p. 17.

⁴ $\frac{A}{6}$, p. 134.

⁵ Ib., p. 217.

⁶ Ib., p. 173.

the crop and the soldiers. On the 1st of May, 1654, the first considerable disbanding took place; and from the moment any district was assigned to the soldiers, they became uncontrolled masters of it. Thus, the officers and soldiers whose lots had fallen in the district called the Rower, in the county of Kilkenny, were declared entitled to have an allowance for the standing of the corn on the lands fallen to them for their arrears from the 1st of May last (1654) till December following, according to the custom of the country, not exceeding a fifth sheaf;¹ and the transplanted inhabitants of the county of Waterford, finding that their wives and children were interrupted in the securing of their crops, petitioned the government from Connaught for protection.² The government thereupon ordered that the Commissioners of Revenue of the precinct where the respective crops of corn were should permit the wives, and such servants of theirs as were permitted to stay, to receive the benefit of their crop, having discharged the contribution due thereout, and allowing the new proprietors an eighth sheaf, or such proportion as is usually made in those parts, according to the custom of the country. But the cruelest act of these rough soldiers was that they and the state tenants entered, and proceeded without mercy to turn out the wives and children of these transplanted proprietors and their servants engaged in watching their last crop, without giving them even a cabin to shelter in, or allowing them grass for their cows on lands so lately their own.³ The

¹ $\frac{1}{4}$, p. 6.

² Ib., p. 50.

³ "To the Commissioners of the Revenue of the respective Precincts.

"Dublin, 26 May, 1654.

"GENTLEMEN,—Whereas we have been informed that several persons that have taken leases of lands from the Commonwealth belonging to Irish inhabitants that are to be transplanted in Connaught from the 1st of May, instant, and upon orders of possession for the same, have entered by virtue of their said

ancient owners became, in fact, strict tenants at will to the state from the time that the Parliament declared the forfeited lands to belong to the soldiers and Adventurers, though, as would appear from Sir John Burke's complaint, they had been promised, or understood they were entitled to, a six months' notice to quit.¹

APPLICATIONS FOR DISPENSATIONS FROM TRANSPLANTATION.

The applications for dispensations were innumerable, and the Commissioners were overwhelmed with them.

Margaret Barnwall had long been troubled with a shaking palsy.² Mr. Robinson was aged about ninety, and blind, and never in arms (as was alledged) and had eighteen plough-

leases, and turned out the former Irish possessors and their servants, without allowing them any cabbins or other habitacons for such necessary servants as they leave behind them for looking after their corn in the ground, and innig and thrashing of the same, contrary to the provisions made in the order for transplantation, we therefore hereby order that you take care that in cases where the said Irish are denied such liberty as abovesaid, you cause convenience of room to be allowed for servants dwelling and thrashing the said corn now in the ground, with grazing on the said lands fit for such sort of cattle as will be needful for carrying in the corn in harvest.

"We remain your loving friends,

"CHAS. FLEETWOOD, MILES CORBET, JOHN JONES."

A
90, p. 702.

¹ "Upon consideration had of the agreement made by the Commissioners of Revenue with the petitioner, Sir John Bourke, and others in like condition with him, that he should, upon six months' notice, remove out of the possession of the lands in the petition mentioned, and the petitioner having been required to remove into Connaught upon the general declaration for transplanting, the Council do not think fit to do anything in his case, but do expect that the petitioner should conform himself to former orders for removing into Connaught.

"THOS. HERBERT, Clerk of the Council.

"16th Oct., 1654."

A
4, p. 67.

² A
6, p. 266.

lands set out to the soldiery.¹ Mary Archer had an aged father, who would be suddenly brought to his grave wanting his accustomed accommodation.² Lady Margaret Atkinson was of great age, and no one to support her but her son, Sir George Atkinson, a Protestant.³ Lady Culme prayed not to be deprived of her servant.⁴ Elinor Butler, widow, had a charge of helpless children.⁵ Dowager Lady Lowth was of great age and impotency.⁶ John, Lord Baron Power, of Cur-

¹ $\frac{A}{85}$, p. 438.

² $\frac{A}{12}$, p. 65.

³ "Upon consideration of the petition of Sir G. Atkinson on the behalf of his mother, the Lady Margaret Atkinson, desiring that his said mother might be dispensed with from transplantation, and remain in the province of Ulster; and consideration being had of the report of Colonel Markham, Captain Shaw, and Thomas Richardson, Esq., unto whom it was referred, who have certified that in regard of the said Lady's great age, as also that she hath no friend to support her save only her said son, a Protestant, and for that it appear by Sir Charles Coote's certificate that she hath always lived inoffensively in said quarters, they are of opinion she should not be removed into Connaught or Clare without special direction; and that she may in the meantime continue to reside with her said son. It is therefore ordered that she be dispensed with from transplantation until 1st May, and that she be permitted to enjoy that proportion of her estate according to her qualification.

"T. HERBERT, Clerk of the Council.

"*Dublin, 30th October, 1654.*" $\frac{A}{4}$, p. 116.

⁴ $\frac{A}{12}$, p. 214.

⁵ "Upon the consideration of the petition of Ellinor Butler, widow, and the order of the Commissioners of the Revenue of Waterford, and the report of Colonel Lawrence, &c., &c., and it being his opinion that the petitioner's own person and her helpless children should be dispensed with as to her present transplantation; *and that she be permitted to bring back her cattle from Connaught* towards the maintenance of herself and children: We, the said Deputy and Council, agree, &c., that she be permitted to bring back her said cattle without molestation, &c. *Dublin, 16th October, 1654.*" $\frac{A}{4}$, p. 64.

⁶ $\frac{A}{4}$, p. 211.

raghmore, had for twenty years past been distracted, and destitute of all judgment.¹ Piers Creagh, of Limerick, was hated by his countrymen for his former known inclination to the English Government.² John Bryan, of Bawnmore, in the county of Kilkenny, Esq., had been instrumental in the discovering of certain persons found guilty by the High Court of Justice of a murther at Urlingford.³ Philip Ro O'Hugh [O'Neil], had given intelligence of Sir Phelim O'Neil whereby he was apprehended and brought to justice. Robert Plunket had given information against several prisoners now in the Marshalsea, who are of great alliance to the Irish, and his safety would be risked in Connaught⁴ (a common statement). Mrs. Cashin, of the barony of Fermoy, county of Cork, was of known integrity to the English in the wars, and very affectionate to them, having had her servants slain by the rebels, her houses burnt, and thereby brought to a very low condition, and "she utterly refuseth to forsake the English."⁵ Lord Viscount Ikerrin had great weakness and infirmity of body.⁶ Dominic Bodkin, Nicholas oge French, and Richard Kerroan (Kirwan), inhabitants of Galway, pleaded their singular good services, whereby they had prejudiced their private interests, and contracted malice from those of their own nation, amongst whom they were now to live, which might prove dangerous to them;⁷ Major Charles Cavanagh and his brother James,—their inoffensive demeanour to the English.⁸ Anne White, widow, of the town of Wexford, sought to spend the remnant of her days there on the certificate of Colonel Lawrence, Governor of Waterford, who had

¹ $\frac{A}{4}$, p. 363.

² Ib., p. 112.

³ $\frac{A}{34}$, p. 208.

⁴ $\frac{A}{85}$, p. 531.

⁵ Ib., p. 437.

⁶ Ib., p. 384.

⁷ $\frac{A}{30}$, p. 160.

⁸ $\frac{A}{6}$, p. 9.

observed her charity for four or five years past, her good affection to English officers, and others quartered in her house—a very useful person to that town; and if any of her religion might live in any garrison, none more deserving than she.¹ Mary Thorpe, a Protestant, the wife of Dillon, an Irish Papist, and transportable for her husband's recusancy, being a person fearing God, and affecting his worship in his ordinances, that she might have better conveniency for hearing the Gospel preached.² James Briver, of Waterford, because the Lord hath been pleased to enlighten his heart to the true way of salvation, the Protestant religion, and therefore desiring to live among the English, where he might have the real exercise of his religion.³ Cicely Plunket,—that her husband was a schoolboy at the breaking out of the rebellion, and had since lived inoffensively; that her husband was upon his transplanting, but that his whole substance depends upon her corn in her haggard, and prayed time for making benefit of her corn and provision for herself and her children.⁴ Margaret Cusack, that she was seventy-eight years of age, and dropsical.⁵ Mary Butler, widow of Mr. Richard Butler, of Ballinakill, in the county of Tipperary, her affection to the English forces, and having discovered an ambushment of the Irish to cut off the English.⁶ John Rose, of Warrenstown in the barony of Dunboyne, his having suffered much in the beginning of the rebellion for his affection to the English interest, and served as a trooper under Captain Bland against the rebels, and was wounded, and also that he was of English parents.⁷ Henry Burnell, for his tedious and languishing sickness, sought time till 1st of June next, by which time it was probable he might

¹ $\frac{A}{6}$, p. 170.

² $\frac{A}{4}$, p. 29.

³ $\frac{A}{85}$, p. 410.

⁴ Ib., p. 248.

⁵ Ib., p. 188.

⁶ Ib., p. 219.

⁷ $\frac{A}{6}$, p. 235.

recover his strength, and be able to travel on foot to Connaught. Nicholas Barnwall, of Turvey, and Bridget, his wife, Countess of Tyrconnel, in regard of their great age and infirmity of body.

The mayor and inhabitants of Cashel, in consideration of a promise made to them by the Lord Protector, such at least as were not in the rebel army, and were actually inhabiting Cashel at the time of the Lord Protector's promise.¹ The old native inhabitants of Limerick having laboured as much as in them lay to preserve the English interest, and to surrender to the English, whereby they became odious to the Irish.²

The transplantation of the Kilkenny submittees, as those of the Leinster army were called, that laid down their arms under the articles entered into at Kilkenny on 12th May, 1652, had some features of peculiar hardship. The officers of the Parliament army engaged to really and truly mediate for them with the Parliament, that they might enjoy such moderate parts of their estates as should make the lives of those who should not retire in voluntary banishment to Spain, but live amongst the English, comfortable, and undertook that in the meantime they should enjoy such part of their estates as had not been disposed of; and under this latter clause the Commissioners for Ireland ordered them possession of their undisposed of estates till 1st April, 1653.

Part of Lord Trimleston's manor had been given *in custodiam* to Mrs. Penelope Bayley, the widow of Colonel Bayley, by a special order of Lord Deputy Ireton, in 1650; but in May, 1652, for her greater security, she took a lease of them for one year from the state, which she let for the time to one Cusack, who assigned them to his brother-in-law, Lord Trim-

¹ A
85, p. 244.

² Ib., p. 247.

leston. When this lease expired, she renewed it for three years; but Lord Trimleston, being in possession at the expiration of the first lease, contended he was entitled to hold them under the Kilkenny Articles, and bribed Mr. Bryan Darley, the surveyor, who was to put Mrs. Bayley in possession, by £4, Mrs. Bayley having given Mr. Darley £6. Lord Trimleston being thus in possession, Mrs. Bayley had to get an order to put him forth, and to have the surveyor arrested for the fraud.¹ When the order for transplantation issued in October, 1653, and Lord Trimleston and the other Kilkenny submitters were called on to transplant, Lord Trimleston on his own behalf and theirs pleaded that by the 6th article they expected the enjoyment of such remnant of their real estate as should make their lives comfortable amongst the English, and that this was not performed; and that they were exempt from transplantation. But the Commissioners for Ireland answered that the Act of Parliament overrode the articles, and that they must transplant to Connaught, where they would have one-third set out to them by the Loughrea Commissioners in some convenient place, with such houses and accommodation as might make their lives comfortable, and with due regard to the nature and goodness of the soil from whence they should remove.² They then appealed to the Committee of Articles, at Westminster, who were of opinion that it would be a breach of faith to transplant them; but the Commissioners enforced their view. On 12th of April, 1655, they made their last effort, and got liberty to stay in their respective dwellings until the 1st of May, and their wives and children until the 20th.³

These Kilkenny submitters were the lords and gentlemen of the Pale, the Barnwalls, the Nettervilles, Bellews, Plunkets,

¹ $\frac{A}{34}$, p. 408.

² $\frac{A}{3}$, p. 177.

³ $\frac{A}{6}$, p. 205.

and others. They complained that the officers in possession of their estates were sheltering their tenants, and prayed that they might be ordered to assist them in driving their cattle, and removing of their carriages to Connaught. But this was refused: all relation between landlord and tenant had ceased between them, but the transplantable tenants were ordered to be arrested.¹

How strict was the imprisonment of the transplanted in Connaught may be judged, when it required a special order for Lord Trimleston, Sir Richard Barnwall, Mr. Patrick Netterville, and others, then dwelling in the suburbs of Athlone on the Connaught side, to pass and repass the bridge into the part of the town on the Leinster side on their business, and only on giving security not to pass without the line of the town without special leave of the governor.²

WILLIAM SPENSER, THE GRANDSON OF EDMUND SPENSER, THE AUTHOR OF THE "FAERY QUEEN," TO BE TRANSPLANTED AS AN "IRISH PAPIST."

It has already been remarked that the descendants of those statesmen of Henry VIII.'s day, who were so full of schemes for confiscating the lands of the Irish, and transplanting or extirpating them, had to abandon their estates, and to transplant to Connaught. In Queen Elizabeth's reign there was no more deadly enemy to Ireland than Edmund Spenser; he was secretary to Lord Grey de Wilton, all whose cruelties he justified. He deals with transplantation as if the Irish were beasts of the field, that might be driven from one province to another for the convenience of the English. He obtained a grant from his cruel master of the castle and lands of Kilcolman, beside the Blackwater, late the inheritance of

^A
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 $\frac{1}{6}$, p. 205.

² Ibid., p. 346.

the Fitzgeralds. One can scarce pity his lot. It was his fate to see this mansion burned before his eyes, with all it contained, including one of his infant children. The robber was thus robbed, the spoiler spoiled; and he went down to the grave in darkness, in lodgings in London, banished by the Irish, who retook their former lands. By a retribution so common in Ireland, the grandson of this English settler had become Irish, and the very woes his ancestor had contrived for the Irish came to be inflicted on his descendant. Among those seeking to be dispensed from transplantation to Connaught was William Spenser, whose grandfather (as Cromwell wrote to the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland) was that Spenser who by his writings touching the reduction of the Irish to civility brought upon him the odium of that nation. That very estate near Fermoy which was confiscated from the Fitzgeralds, and conferred on him about seventy years before, is now confiscated anew, and set out among the soldiers of the Commonwealth army, and his grandson is ordered to transplant to Connaught as "Irish Papist." William Spenser appealed to Cromwell; and Cromwell, out of regard for the works of Edmund Spenser, endeavoured, but in vain, to save his lands for him.¹

¹ "Lord Protector to Commissioners for Affairs in Ireland.

" Whitehall, 27th March, 1657.

"RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED,

" A petition hath been exhibited unto us by William Spenser, setting forth that being but seaven years old att the beginning of the rebellion in Ireland, hee repaired with his mother to the City of Corke, and during the rebellion continued in the English quarters; that hee never bore arms, or acted against y^e Commonwealth of England; that his grandfather, Edmund Spenser, and his father, were both Protestants, from whom an estate in lands in the barony of Fermoy, and county of Corke, descended to him, which during the rebellion yielded nothing towards his relief; that y^e estate hath been lately given to the souldiers in satisfaction of their arrears, upon accompt of his professing the Popish religion, which since his coming to years of discre-

THE TROUBLES OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR IRELAND.

Besides the complaints of the transplanting Irish, the Commissioners of Ireland had to meet and answer the petitions of their own officers. The transplanting work (they write) we are drudging on with, and it is hard work to put in practice, whatever you in England may imagine.¹ The Commissioners of Revenue found their returns affected by the transplantation, "it had so distracted and discomposed the people." The agents from the countries declared their inability to pay the expected taxes if that held.² Irish entrusted by their neighbours with collecting the assessment payable by the different baronies were escaping into Connaught with the balances, without passing their accounts.³ Kerry would be

tion hee hath, as hee professes, utterly renounced; that his grandfather was, that Edmund Spenser, who by his writings touching the reduction of y^e Irish to civility brought on him the odium of that nation, and for those works and his other good services Queen Elizabeth conferred on him y^t estate which the said William Spenser now claims. Wee have also been informed that y^e gentleman is of a civil conversation, and that the extremitie his wants have brought him unto have not prevailed over him to put him upon indiscreet or evil practices for a livelihood. And if upon enquiry you shall find his case to be such, wee judge it just and reasonable, and do therefore desire and authorise you y^t hee bee forthwith restored to his estate, and that reprisall lands bee given to the soulqjers elsewhere. In y^e doing whereof our satisfaction will be the greater by the continuation of that estate to y^e issue of his grandfather, for whose eminent deserts and services to y^e Commonwealth y^t estate was first given to him.

"We rest, your loving friend,

"OLIVER, P."

Book of "Letters from the Lord Protector," p. 118, Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

¹ "Mercur. Politicus," Oct. 12, 1653, p. 2839.

² Ibid., p. 5241.

³ "The time for transplanting the Irish being at hand, and the ablest of the Irish inhabitants to remove thereupon, amongst which it is probable that the

desolate, therefore contracts must be made to provide baggage horses for carrying provisions to the garrisons, and for innning of hay for the horse and dragoons there.¹ Officers and Protestants prayed that they might not be deprived of their tenants and servants. The Lady Netterville, the Lady Alison Talbot, Mr. Nicholas Barnwall, of Turvey, the Lady Mary Allen, Thomas Luttrell, of Luttrellstown, and others in the neighbourhood of Dublin, applied for a rehearing, as they had material things to offer against the report of the Committee of Officers, to show they should not be transplanted.² Officers entrusted with clearing the towns of Irish, unwilling to be answerable for the consequences of literally executing the order, required categorical answers from the government to their queries. Colonel Sadleir asks whether any Irish Papist shall be permitted to live in the town of Wexford? If any, whether all the seamen, boatmen, and fishermen, or how many? How many packers and gillers of herrings? How many coopers? How many masons and carpenters? What shall be done with the Irishwomen which are Papists, who are married to Englishmen and Protestants? What shall be done with the Irishmen who are turned Protestants and

most of those persons who have been entrusted as commissioners, agents, or trustees for baronies will be included, who will some of them doubtless take the advantage to avoid accompting with the country for their receipts and collections before departure. . . . We therefore desire you will take care to call all such of the Irish or others who have been entrusted with the receipt of publique moneys in your precinct, to account in convenient time before their transplanting. . . .

"Your affectionate friends,

"EDWARD ROBERTS.

BENJAMIN WOESLEY.

"*Cork House, March 2nd, 1654.*

"*To the Commissioners of the Precinct of Limerick.*"

Records of late Auditor-General's Office, Custom House Buildings.

^A
¹ 85, p. 294.

^A
² $\frac{8}{4}$, p. 816.

come to hear the word of God?¹ The Commissioners of Loughrea troubled them even more. They asked whether by Popish recusants of the Irish nation, and therefore transplantable, might be understood those whose fathers or mothers, or both, were English, only themselves born in Ireland? Whether persons enlisted by their landlords, being officers, though they were never in the field nor marched out of their country? Whether Papists that first served in the rebel army, but then took service under the Commonwealth, if still on muster? Whether men marrying transplantable widows become themselves transplantable? Whether the wives and children of those gone to Spain be transplantable, as well as those remaining behind in like condition with themselves? What do the Commissioners for Ireland mean by Irish widows of English extract? What course shall be taken with those transplanted that set themselves down where they choose, refusing to come to their assignments, contrary to the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th instructions, which hinder the Commissioners from giving any account either of the number or quality of the transplanted persons, and also from dispersing the septs according to instructions?²

THE FIRST ASPECT OF CONNAUGHT.

The difficulties of the government were increased by the reports arriving from Connaught from the earliest transplanters, to the families they left behind preparing to follow, who were thereby discouraged. They found the country a waste. In the summer of this year the famine was so sore, that the natives had eaten up all the horses they could get, and were feeding upon one another, the living eating the dead.³ The

¹ A
85 p. 178.

² Ibid., p. 544.

³ "Mercur. Politicus," June 8, 1653, p. 2516.

county of Clare was totally ruined, and deserted of inhabitants. Out of nine baronies, comprising 1300 ploughlands, not above 40 ploughlands at the most, lying in the barony of Bunratty, were inhabited in the month of June, 1653, except some few persons living for safety in garrisons.¹ Scarce a place to shelter in. The castles either slighted by gunpowder, as dangerous to be left in the hands of the Irish;² or occupied by the English soldiery, or by the ancient Irish proprietors, who looked upon the transplanted as enemies liable to supplant them, and therefore, encouraged their followers to give them rough reception.³ Besides this, the Loughrea Commissioners gave some of the earliest transplanters assignments in the barony of Burren, in the county of Clare, one of the barrenest, where it was commonly said⁴ there was not wood enough to hang a man, water enough to drown him, or earth

¹ $\frac{A}{84}$, p. 205.

² "Upon reading the petition of Edmund Dogherty, mason, and the certificates of the Commissioners at Loughrea, setting forth that the said Edmund Dogherty is to receive the sum of £82 10s. od., for demolishing thirteene castles in y^e county of Clare, at £2 10s. od., each castle: ordered, &c.

"CHARLES FLEETWOOD. ROBERT GOODWIN.

"Dublin, 1st January, 1655."

Late Auditor-General's Records, vol. x., p. 188.

³ "Whereas information hath been given unto this Board, that many of the Irish nation of the province of Connaught have offered several affronts and abuses to divers of the transplanted persons. it is hereby ordered, that Sir C. Coote, Knt. and Bart., Lord President of Connaught, Colonel Ingoldsby, &c., or any two or more of them, be empowered upon proof made before them forthwith to transplant such Irish proprietors or others from their present habitations into some remote part of Connaught, that shall so menace or assault, &c., there to live.

"Dated at Athlone, 18th June, 1655." $\frac{A}{6}$, p. 346.

⁴ "Whitelock's Memorials," at the year 1651, p. 521.

enough to bury him.¹ They were therefore scared, like the first beasts too suddenly driven at a slaughter yard, communicating their terrors to the herd behind. The English officers, too, were not assisting to put them in possession of their assignments.² Ferrymen and toll-keepers were exacting tolls, contrary to the orders of government.³

THE FIRST YEAR OF TRANSPLANTATION.

The Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland, from a foresight of the ruin to fall upon the English by executing literally the law of transplantation, obtained authority from the Council

¹ " *Council of Ireland to Loughrea Commissioners.*

" *Dublin Castle, 18th July, 1655.*

" Being informed that you beginn to sett down persons in the baronies of Burren and Inchiqueen, which places being generally reputed and known to be sterill, wee fear it may much hinder the business of the transplantation, by disheartening those which shall come after, when they shall see such assignations made in the entrance of this work, &c." ^A ₃₀, p. 82.

Grievances of the Transplanted in Clare.

" 2ndly. In regard it was the misfortune of your suppliants to be assigned on that part of y^e county of Clare that is most barren, unfertill, and waste, which yields no corn but oats (and that itself with much labour and husbandry), your suppliants pray that no sheaf or tax be exacted from them whence they remove.

" 3rdly. Whereas the several transplanted persons thither have withdrawne themselves with their cattle, as well back [across the Shannon] as into Connaught, and that have returned of late their substance in the book of the fourth part of the said county, may be forthwith forced to return back to the said county with their stocks, otherwise the remaining transplanted to be eased of their proportion of the charge for the future." 5th September, 1654. " *Grievances of the transplanted inhabitants now in the county of Clare.*"

Order Book of the Council, late Auditor-General's Office, Custom House Buildings, vol. vii.

¹ ^A ₉₀, p. 745.

² ^A ₅, p. 144.

of State to confine it to proprietors of lands and their families, and Persons that had contrived or abetted the rebellion, or had been actually in arms. But to force even these to cross the Shannon by the 1st of May, 1654, would (if possible) have been death to the sick and aged, to the blind and impotent. It would, besides, leave the country a waste. They were therefore empowered to grant dispensations to be limited to the 1st of June following. But such a multiplicity of petitions now poured in for extension of time, that on the 17th of May, 1654, the Council appointed Major-General Sir Hardress Waller, Major Anthony Morgan, and Major Brian Smith to hear applications, and to grant dispensations for the Precinct of Cork, Kerry, and Limerick ; Dr. Henry Jones and others for Athlone, Trim, and Belturbet Precinct ; and others for the remaining Precincts.

They were to dispense those whose lives would be endangered—the sick, the aged, the lame and impotent ; those that aided the English armies, that had discovered rebels, that had sheltered English and Protestants from being murdered, and those that should give good evidence of renouncing the Popish Superstition and the Bishop of Rome, and should also manifest their desire to hear such as should instruct them in the true and saving knowledge of Jesus Christ and His Gospel and Truths.¹

Thus, those were allowed within the rules of dispensation (says Colonel Lawrence) who had aught to offer of particular acts of kindness shown to the English, or any other testimony of the heart through affection to the English interest; and, that not a cup of cold water might go unrequited (given by the worst of enemies to the meanest of friends), those obtained a suspension, with a special recommendation to the Commis-

¹ "Printed Declaration of 27th March, 1654. ^A ₈₃, p. 263.

sioners at Loughrea for their convenient accommodation when they arrived in Connaught.¹

Besides the instances of applications from individuals already given, there came petitions from the old native inhabitants of Limerick, traders, of Danish or English blood;² from the fishermen of the same city, being Irish;³ the former alleging they had laboured for the English interest to induce the citizens to surrender to Ireton, whereby they became odious to the Irish, and therefore desired some place on the River Shannon to be assigned them for their residence. From the inhabitants of Dublin;⁴ from the artificers of Clonmel;⁵ from the inhabitants of Dingle;⁶ from the inhabitants of Tipperary;⁷ and from almost every town and county in the kingdom.

The inhabitants of Cashel, on their application already mentioned, were dispensed from transplantation till 1st May, 1655. They had hastened to Cromwell at Fethard, and were the first that threw themselves on the Protector's mercy, induced by their close neighbourhood, and the good conditions that town received. Cromwell had arrived before its ancient walls in a storm of wind and sleet, long after dark on the night of the 3rd of February, 1650. Pressed by the pelting storm, and anxious to house his men, he granted that the inhabitants, on giving him immediate admission, should enjoy their properties and liberties; and that the priests there should be spared.⁸ By this happy accident they not only escaped being

¹ "Interest of England in the Irish Transplantation Stated, &c., p. 7."

² A
⁸³, p. 244.

³ Ib., p. 363.

⁴ Ib., p. 430.

⁵ Ib., p. 479.

⁶ Ib., p. 229.

⁷ Ib., p. 314.

⁸ "Dismal Effects of the Irish Rebellion, &c.; to which are added Letters to and from Oliver Cromwell, Ireton, Preston, and many others, relating to the Sieges &c., never before printed;—from the original MSS. of Mr. Cliff, an intimate of Cromwell, and Secretary to General Ireton." Appendix, p. 16. Folio. Dublin: 1743.

transplanted, but were reported by the Committee of References for Articles to be a people to be differenced from the rest of the whole nation.¹ And when the Royalist officers, after the Restoration, who were to divide between them all the houses of the Irish in the towns, as not set out to the Adventurers or soldiers, sent their surveyors there, as to all other towns, to measure and value the houses, the Sovereign and Commons opposed them, and by force withheld them from so doing.²

They maintained that their properties had not been confiscated by the usurpers, and that nothing came under the new Settlement at the Restoration but what had been "set out" in some way by those powers.

But the progress of the transplantation during the first year, in consequence of these dispensations, was not rapid enough for the officers possessed by that land hunger characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race. They complained of any delay being granted to the Irish as displeasing to God :—

"Letter from Dublin, May 31, 1654."

"We are somewhat in a confused posture yet with our transplantation : many are gone, but many others play 'loth to de-

¹ Report, dated 2 November, 1652, attached to the copy of the Petition, signed "in the name and by the appointment of the Committee, Charles Coote." Late Auditor-General's Records. "Articles of Capitulation," &c., pp. 35, 36.

² "The Booke of the Valuation of Fethard in the county of Tipperary" [A. D. 1663]. Late Auditor-General's Records. At the foot of their unfinished Survey is this note :—

"The Residue and Remainder of the Houses and Lands within this Corporation, and the Libbertyes thereof wee found in the possession of severall Irish Papists Proprietors, and when wee weare proceedinges to a Valuation thereof according to the directions of our Commission and Instructions which we Read unto them, The Sovereign and Commons of the said Towne opposed us, and by force withheld us from soe doeing.

"THOS. EVATT. HENRY PYNE."

part.' And many are dispensed with : as particularly one whole town, Cashel, towards which we had no great obligation upon us. But the Lord, who is a jealous God, and more knowing of, as well as jealous against their iniquity than we are, by a fire on the 23rd instant hath burnt down the whole town in little more than a quarter of an hour, except some few houses that a few English lived in [having probably taken the best stone and slated ones], which were wonderfully preserved, being in the midst of the town, and the houses round each burnt to the ground, yet *they* preserved.

"The persons that got their dispensations from the transplantation died the day before the fire, of the plague, and none else long before nor since dead of the disease there."¹

Six weeks later comes the following intelligence to London :—

"From Dublin, 12th July, 1654.

"The transplanting work moves on but slowly ; not above six score [families ?] from all provinces are yet removed into Connaught. The flood-gates being shut from transporting [to Spain], and one vent stopped for sending away the souldiery, part of them Irish, they begin to break out into Torying, and the waters begin to rise again upon us."²

"From Dublin August 24th, 1654.

"The work of transplanting is at a stand. The Tories fly out and increase. It is the nature of this people to be rebellious ; and they have been so much the more disposed to it,

¹ P. 3538, "Mercurius Politicus, comprising the summe of all Intelligence, with the Affairs and Designs now on foot in the three Nations of England, Ireland, and Scotland ; in Defence of the Commonwealth and the Information of the people. [Published weekly.] Licensed to be printed."

² P. 3636, "Mercurius Politicus," &c.

having been highly exasperated by the transplanting work.¹ This makes many turn Tories who give no quarter, none being given to them."²

The year closes, however, more satisfactorily :—

"From Dublin, December 21st, 1654.

"The transplantation is now far advanced, the men being gone for to prepare their new habitations in Connaught. Their wives and children and dependents have been and are packing away after them apace, and all are to be gone by the 1st of March next."³

THE SECOND YEAR OF TRANSPLANTATION.

The year 1655 was one of the most trying to the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland. By the 1st of March the last of the Irish, not dispensed, were to be withdrawn behind the line of the Shannon. Many regiments of horse and foot were to be disbanded, and to have lands assigned them for their arrears. The news from Dublin of the 21st of March describes the Council as very diligent, sitting every day, and most days twice. The enforcing of the Rule for Transplantation at this juncture of time (it was said), puts them in much trouble.⁴ There had been, it seems, an immoderate and universal fall of rain that season. The ways were deep, the cattle weak ; the journeys to Connaught were rendered more hazardous, especially for transplanters' wives and children, and their breeding and young cattle. To let all persons, therefore, know, that as it had hitherto been in the hearts of those in authority over them to exercise all tenderness consistent with the work of transplantation (as already expressed in their proceedings towards them in this matter), and to leave such as

¹ "Mercur. Politicus," p. 3732.

³ P. 5048, *ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 5241.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5251.

should prove refractory without excuse, the Lord Deputy and Council issued their printed declaration of 27th February, 1655.

They thereby declared that on condition the husbands and heads of families went off to Connaught by the 1st of March following, their wives and children, and necessary servants, with their cattle, might obtain licenses to continue in their present dwellings until the 1st of May. But only on producing to the Commander in Chief and Justices of the Peace of the district the certificate of the Loughrea Commissioners, that their husbands had appeared before the Commissioners there, and were preparing for their families. Otherwise they were to be out of protection—that is to say, to be treated as enemies in a state of war.¹ The true reason of this relaxation, however, was no weakness of the Lord Deputy and Council, nor of the transplanters' wives and young cattle. But how could they hang such multitudes (though only Irish) as neglected to stir, or where find prisons to hold them?

The temper of the officers and soldiers and other expectant planters at these delays may be judged by the following intelligence, written for publication in London :—

“ Athy, March 4, 1654–5.

“ I have only to acquaint you, that the time prescribed for the transplantation of the Irish proprietors, and those that have been in arms and abettors of the rebellion, being near at hand, the officers are resolved to fill the gaols and to seize them : by which this bloody people will know that they [the officers] are not degenerated from English principles ; though I presume we shall be very tender of hanging any except leading men ;

¹ “Printed Declaration of 27th February, 1655.” British Museum. 806.1
1.4

yet we shall make no scruple of sending them to the West Indies, where they will serve for planters, and help to plant the plantation [of Jamaica] that General Venables, it is hoped, hath reduced.”¹

The government, accordingly, pressed on the great work. They proceeded to seize and sell the crops of those families that delayed to transplant, and to apply the moneys arising from the sale for buying stores to relieve those that transplanted themselves according to the law.²

They issued the most threatening orders. They then ordered the general arrest of all transplantable persons untransplanted by a certain day.³ This was put in execution, said the ancient peers and proprietors of Ireland at the Restoration (who protested against the proposal of the Cromwellians that their acceptance of pittances of land in Connaught, to save their perishing families, should be held to bar them of their hereditary estates), at one and the same time throughout the kingdom, by troopers and soldiers dragging the poor people out of their beds in the dead of night, and bringing them in such troops as there was not gaol room enough to contain them. Therefore (they continue), some were put

¹ 4530, “Mercurius Politicus,” &c.

² Ibid., p. 4569.

“Monday, April 2nd, 1655.

“The Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland have published a Declaration for making sale of the corn of such Irish proprietors and others that did not transplant themselves into Connaught according to the Declaration of 30 November last, for buying stores to relieve those that do transplant themselves according to the said Declaration.”

“Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs, &c. (during the week between 29th March and 3rd April, 1655).”

³ 19th March, 1654-5. General search for and arrest of all transplantable persons untransplanted, ordered, and courts martial appointed to try them.

A
26, p. 75.

to death ; others sold as slaves into America ; others detained in prison till they were not able to put bread into their mouths ; others, as partakers of the greatest favour that could be expected, only released on condition of transplanting into Connaught.¹

Instructions were now issued to the officers in the different Precincts for getting rid of some of the wretched mass that overthronged the gaols. Queries came from Colonel Sadleir from Wexford, from Colonel Phayre from Cork, and from other officers in command, to know who should be held to be "Swordmen" and who "Proprietors," the two classes that were to transplant. The Lord Deputy and Council answered that among "Swordmen" were to be included Irish who kept watch and ward—that were pressed or forced—Peders and Garsons—Militiamen—Trained bandmen—Auxiliaries—and those meeting at Randezvous. Also men who by command of Governors of towns or forts bore arms in any town or garrison.²

They were directed to consider as Proprietors "and transplantable," mortgagors and mortgagees, and their eldest sons (though never in arms) ; the brothers, sons, and next heirs of such (if there be no sons) who may be in a possibility to inherit ; copyholders (with not above twenty acres) were also transplantable ; lessees for seven years and their children ; widows entitled to jointure were to be also deemed proprietors and transplantable ;³ also the wives and children of swordmen gone to Spain, and the orphans of transplantable persons. Men marrying transplantable persons became themselves transplantable. But sick and aged widows (among other

¹ "The Roman Catholics of Ireland, their Answer to Proposals offered [to the King in Council] in order to the Settlement of Ireland by the Commissioners from the Convention of Ireland, in 1660." "Carte Papers," "Ireland," vol. vii., p. 6. Bodleian Library.

² $\frac{\Delta}{5}$, p. 196.

³ $\frac{\Delta}{6}$, 349.

ancient and feeble men and women, and blind and impotent persons) might be dispensed, but all others must transplant. And all transplanters, who had been previously licensed, but had outstayed their licenses and been arrested, might be let at liberty, engaging first to transplant before 1st March following. They might also set at liberty and dispense for six months those who, though not able to prove Constant Good Affection, could be held Good Affection Men, not, however, above forty in number from each district prison. And all such "Swordmen and Proprietors" as by two Justices of the Peace were certified to have really renounced Popery, and for six months past had constantly resorted to Protestant worship, were, on giving security to transplant by 12th of April following, to be set at liberty.¹ Protestantism now appeared so amiable that conversions spread. At Athy benighted numbers received a new light; and Colonel Henry Pretty, Captain John Bennett, with Mr. John Murcot, a preacher to the Lord Deputy and Council, were ordered to repair thither. The latter was one who, by his severe carriage at Chester, had become, according to his own account, ridiculous to the wicked; so that, being in a manner weary of that place, he settled himself in Dublin, and by his often preaching and praying obtained a great flock of people to be his admirers, especially women and children, adds Anthony Wood.² They were to satisfy themselves upon conference with these converts, whether they could discover any work of conversion, and evidence of a real reform in them, and whether upon any conscientious grounds they have deserted Popery, or that for any feigned consideration or by-ends they pretend the embracing of Protestantism.³

¹ $\frac{A}{5}$, p. 36.

² 1st Vol. "Athenæ Oxonienses," p. 184. 2 vols. Folio. London: 1721.

³ $\frac{A}{25}$, p. 472.

Similar Commissions were issued into most parts of the kingdom.

The Irish of Wexford now set forth their resolution to hear the Word read and preached unto them, and desired that Mr. Good might be their minister. And, on the certificate of Colonel Sadleir of his competency, he was appointed to exercise his gifts at Wexford and the neighbourhood.¹

Mr. Edward Spring, of Killeagh, in the county of Kerry, was dispensed, because it appeared by the report of Colonel Nelson and Lieutenant Sands, that he and his children were renouncing the Romish religion, and frequenting the Protestant public Meeting places.²

Upon the report of Major Thomas Stanley, that in the Liberties of Clonmel there hath been of late great resort of the Irish to church, and that Mr. Galatius Hickey was a person well qualified to instruct the Irish in Protestant principles, Mr. Galatius Hickey's yearly salary was increased from £20 to £40.³ Mr. Carey, however, minister of Bride's Church in Dublin, complained that his flock was careless; and the Mayor of the City, with Alderman Hutchinson and Mr. Price, were to inquire after such as were remiss in coming to hear the Word, when the Petitioner preached in the Irish language or otherwise; and that, under pretext of repairing to the meeting places, frequented ale houses, or mis-spent the time set apart for "publique Duty" in unwarrantable exercises, to the scandal of their profession. And the Irish so offending were to be made an example of, by requiring them to transplant forthwith into Connaught.⁴

¹ $\frac{\text{A}}{1}$, p. 41.

² $\frac{\text{A}}{4}$, p. 37.

³ $\frac{\text{A}}{91}$, p. 89.

⁴ $\frac{\text{A}}{12}$, p. 181.

SENTENCES OF DEATH FOR NOT TRANSPLANTING.

These general arrests had to be repeated from time to time, and the government had to devise excuses after each to relieve the gaols of part of the crowds. But the aspect of Connaught was so terrible, that the wretched hunted ancient nobility and gentry of Ireland still lingered. They would not obey the law.

Letter from Dublin, 27th July, 1655.

"The business of transplanting is not yet finished. The Irish chuse death rather than remove from their wonted habitations. But the State is resolved to see it done."

The following was probably the first case where death was inflicted.

"March 25th, 1655.

"Daniel Fitzpatrick and another in Ireland [this was published in London for the satisfaction of the Adventurers and other capitalists and speculators there] are condemned by the Commissioners in Kilkenny for refusing to transport themselves into Connaught, which makes the rest to hasten."

In the same month, with a view of quickening the movements of transplanters, a court martial, sitting in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, sentenced Mr. Edward Hetherington, of Kilmelmanagh, to death.

The Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland, on 2nd April, 1655, considered the finding of the court martial, and seem to have sought excuses to their uneasy consciences for confirming the sentence. For they introduced statements that Mr. Hetherington had disobeyed several declarations for transplanting; that he had borne arms against the Commonwealth; that it appeared by the oath of two Englishmen that

he was a Tory in 1643, and with others had taken them prisoners near the Naass; and had confessed to them, more probably boasted, as a feat of war, that he had that day killed seven Englishmen. With these statements put on the face of their order to palliate the deed to posterity, they left it to the court martial either to put the sentence into execution, or to reprieve him, as the court should judge most agreeable to justice.¹ The officers ordered him for execution the next day, and he was duly hanged on 3rd of April, 1655; and to make the spectacle more exemplary, he was hanged with placards on his breast and back, "for not transplanting."² And for not transplanting he died; because he was never tried on the introduced charges, unless behind his back, unheard.

**AN ENGLISHMAN'S PROTEST AGAINST THE TRANSPLANTATION
OF THE IRISH.**

But the spectacle of universal misery of the Irish nation, and the evil consequences to the English planters themselves, now called forth the book called "The Great Case of Transplantation in Ireland Discussed."³ It was anonymous. But the author was Vincent Gookin, son of a planter of King James I.'s reign, then and long before resident in the county of Cork. He was one of the six members for Ireland returned to the first Commonwealth Parliament in 1653, called the

¹ A 5, p. 114.

² "The Roman Catholics of Ireland, their Answer, &c." "Carte Papers," Ireland, vol. vii., p. 6.

³ "The Great Case of Transplantation in Ireland Discussed; or, certain Considerations, wherein the many great Inconveniences in transplanting the Natives of Ireland generally out of the three Provinces of Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, into the Province of Connaught are shown, humbly tendered to every individual Member of Parliament, by a Wellwisher to the good of the Commonwealth of England." 4to. London: for J. C., 1655.

Little Parliament.¹ He was elected by the people of Kinsale, and represented a large district in Munster.

Living among the Irish, he had as usual learned to love them. He had appreciated that hearty, affectionately loyal race of men, who seem to be fresh from nature's hand, and to belong to an earlier and uncorrupted world. His land hunger² had been appeased. He was possessed of considerable estates. He had tasted of the social freedom, the easy and animated life of an unsubdued people.

Over the rest of Europe a thousand years of Roman and feudal slavery had divided society into conquerors and conquered, into gentlemen and serfs; so that the lower classes are in many countries but emancipated villeins, exhibiting traces of their former serfish condition, in their brutal manners, as those of the nobility and gentry do of conquerors in their haughty carriage to inferiors. Ireland escaped the feudal conquest, and hence, perhaps, it is that the English find in the commonest Irish blackguard something of the gentleman; but on the other hand, that every Irish gentleman seems to them to have something in him of the blackguard. For such they consider the freedoms used on both sides in Ireland.³ The Scots at

¹ He also sat as one of the twenty-nine members for Ireland in the Parliament of 1654.

² "The land hunger of the Anglo-Saxon race."—"The Times" newspaper. In another article of 29th November, 1861, on the Governor-General's throwing open the soil of India to English settlers, it says, "that the resolution of 17th October, 1861, appeals to one of the strongest passions in the human breast, the love of land. In most nations this feeling is strong, but in the British population the love of land [*of other peoples' land*] is powerful in the extreme. Our colonial wars are simply wars for land. We fight for land in New Zealand, at the Cape, and wherever we settle." Denied it at home, they are led or driven like buccaneers to make prey of it abroad.

³ "Res Gestæ Anglorum in Hiberniâ, or a Supplement to the History of England." By Rowley Lascelles. Preface to "Liber Munerorum Publicorum." In 2 vols. Folio. London: 1826.

this very period observed upon what they called “this Inglish divill of keeping state.” In England, they said, it might be tolerable ; for that nation, being often conquered, was become slavish, and took it not ill to be slaves to their superiors. But the Scots, having never been conquered, but always a free-born people, were only won with courtesies and the cheerful and affable behaviour of their nobles and gentry. No leaders of this reserved carriage could ever, at home or abroad, perform with the Scots any great enterprise. They were, therefore, warned

“To learn to shun, to hate
The Inglish divill of keeping state.”¹

Gookin is an instance of the power possessed by Ireland, as observed by Giraldus, of enchanting strangers, who are scarce arrived, he says, before they are contaminated by the vices of the Irish. For such are the only terms each Englishman employs, from the first that set foot on the soil to the latest, to describe the customs of the Irish, because he finds they will never become their serfs like Saxons. “These,” writes Sir John Davis, another Englishman, employed 400 years later to enslave the Irish by forcing on them the feudal land code in place of the free and equal Brehon law of Ireland (and he uses all the graces of language to hide the foulness of the fraud)—“these were the Irish customs, which the English colonies did embrace and use, whereby they became degenerate like those who drank of Circe’s cup, and were turned into very beasts, and yet took such pleasure in their beastly manner of life as they would not return to their shape of men again.”² These Cir-

¹ “Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon, of Auchleuchries. A. D. 1635–1699. 4to. Aberdeen. Printed for the Spalding Club, 1859.

² Sir John Davis, “Discovery why Ireland was never thoroughly subdued until the reign of King James I.,” p. 672.

cean charms being nothing else than the easy life and manners of the Irish. Charming indeed is the contrast they present to that dulness, the characteristic, as observed by this same Giraldus, whether innate or the result of feudal serfdom he knew not, of men of Saxon and German stock.¹

His father, Sir Vincent Gookin, in 1634, published a pamphlet in Ireland, in the form of a letter to the Lord Deputy, being a bitter invective against the whole nation, Natives, Old English, New English, Papists, Protestants, and all, which so enraged all people against him, as they would have hanged him if they could.² In his "Great Case of Transplantation Discussed," he objected that the soldiers lately disbanded (espe-

¹ "Description of Wales," by Giraldus, chap. xv., "Their freedom and confidence in speaking."

² Pp. 348, 349, "Earl of Strafford's Letters," vol. i. Folio.

Strange to find even Henry Cromwell, who had warred here as Colonel, and became afterwards Lieutenant-General and Lord Lieutenant, enchanted with the country :—

" *Henry Cromwell to the Duke of Ormond.*

" *March 8, 1661-2.*

" **MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE**—The time of my protection expires apace. Nor is the expense of this towne [London] very suitable to my condition. It would be of great concernment to mee to knowe my doome [he was seeking to hold his Irish land], before I return into y^e country, and I suppose my businesse is now as ripe as ever it can be for a determination. Wherefore I humbly beg leave of your Grace to bee importunatt, that a period may bee putt to my languishings, and the great unsettlement of my relations. I neither expect nor desire to hold a foot of any restorable land, nor a foote more than what by the mercy of his Majesty's declaration is afforded mee. I onely entreat your Grace to save mee the vexation and hazard of soliciting and attendaunces in Ireland, and of contests with any person whatsoever *ther*, where I wish above all other places to live though never so obscurely under your Grace's protection, to show how much your Grace's patience about my business hath obligeid, May it please your Grace, your Grace's most humble, most faithfull, and most obedient servant,

" **HENRY CROMWELL.**"

Carte MSS. FF., p. 265, Bodleian Library.

cially the private soldiers) had need of the Irish. They had neither stock, nor money to buy stock, nor, for the most part, skill in husbandry. But by the labours of the Irish on their land, together with their own industry, they might maintain themselves, improve their lands, and by degrees inure themselves suitably to their new course of life.¹ Moreover, there were few of the Irish peasantry but were skilful in husbandry, and more exact than any English in the husbandry proper to the country; few of the women but were skilful in dressing hemp and flax, and making woollen cloth. In every hundred men there were five or six masons and carpenters at least, and those more handy and ready in building ordinary houses, and much more skilful in supplying the defects of instruments and materials than English artificers.² They have always been known as uncommon masters of the art of overcoming difficulties by contrivances.

The transplantation would injure the revenue. It was paid out of corn which the Irish raised, living themselves on the roots and fruits of their gardens, and on the milk of their cows, goats, and sheep, and by selling their corn to the English they provided money for the "contribution."³

A considerable number of English had by this time already come over and scattered themselves over the country, purchasing farms, and buying stock. This early hope must be nipped in the bud. For, if the transplanting went forward, it would so multiply Tories, they could not live in the country,—and their stock could not live in towns,—and their improvements and buildings must be utterly lost, and themselves, when they least expected it, undone.⁴ For many of the inhabitants of Ireland, who were then able to subsist on their gardens, unable to find subsistence in travelling to Connaught, or any imme-

¹ P. 16, "Great Case of Transplantation Discussed."

² P. 17, *ibid.*

³ P. 15, *ibid.*

⁴ P. 17, *ibid.*

diate support when they reached that wasted province, would rather choose the hazard of Torying, than the danger of starving.¹ "The chiefest and eminentest of the nobility, and many of the gentry, had taken conditions from the King of Spain, and had transported forty thousand of the most active spirited men, most acquainted with the dangers and discipline of war.² The priests were all banished. The remaining part of the whole nation was scarce one-sixth part of what they were at the beginning of the war, so great a devastation had God and man brought upon that land ; and that handful of natives left were poor labourers, simple creatures, whose sole design was to live and maintain their families, the manner of which was so low that their design was rather to be pitied, than by any body feared or hindered."³ Then there was the danger that in Connaught they would be under their chiefs, seated in a country furthest distant from England, with its coast most remote from the course of the English fleet, ready to receive aid from any foreign country. It was by these advantages the English in the late rebellion first lost Connaught, and last regained it.⁴

The taxation to maintain the army was so insupportable upon the people under protection, as to amount to a monthly diminution of their capital substance, and drove many husbandmen to such poverty that they had only the hard choice left of starving or turning Tories.⁵ Their bands had been thus lately much increased ; and the rigour of the Parliament in excepting them from mercy made them resist to the uttermost.⁶ To all these objections was to be added the difficulty of enforcing the transplantation. "The Irish would say they could but find want and ruin at the worst if they stay, and why should

¹ P. 20, "Great Case of Transplantation Discussed."

² Id. Ibid.

³ P. 22, ibid.

⁴ P. 26, ibid.

⁵ P. 13, ibid.

⁶ P. 25, ibid.

they travel so far for that which will come home to them ? Against transplantation the Irish have ('tis strange) as great a resentment as against loss of estate, yea, even death itself. But, supposing they should have a dram of rebellious blood in them, or be sullen and not go ? can it be imagined that a whole nation will drive like geese at the wagging of a hat upon a stick?"¹ And in conclusion it was asked, " When will this wild war be finished ; Ireland planted ; inhabitants disburthened ; souldiers settled ? The unsettling of a nation is easy work ; the settling is not. The opportunity for it will not last always : it is now. The souldiers, exhausted with indefatigable labours, hope now for rest. It had been better if Ireland had been thrown into the sea before the first engagement on it, if it is never to be settled."²

FURY OF THE CROMWELLIAN OFFICERS AGAINST THE AUTHOR
OF " THE CASE OF TRANSPLANTATION DISCUSSED."

The publication of this work roused all the fury of the officers of the English army. It was just at the moment when one of the three great disbandings was about to take place, and lots to be cast, and possession of their lands to be taken by the soldiery. They sent in petitions from various quarters. "The Council of War at head quarters in Ireland" addressed His Highness the Lord Protector, stating that the Parliament had provided for their satisfaction in land and for the transplantation of the Irish, and that without such transplantation your petitioners' lands cannot long be safely enjoyed by them and their posterity." And they fell upon the author of the book, including him amongst "some persons belonging to Ireland," who endeavoured to obstruct them in their settle-

¹ P. 26, " Great Case of Transplantation Discussed."

² Ibid.

ment upon the lands provided for them by Parliament, and with plainly injuring the army, and unsettling the work of English plantation in Ireland.¹ But, besides the odious charge of being an Irishman, or of having "degenerated" as Spenser calls it, from being a "right Englishman," hating and despising the Irish and everything belonging to them but their lands, they insinuated that he was bribed by them :—

"Dublin, February 16th, 1654-5.

"The Irish are troubled to hear of the dissolution of the late Parliament, in whom they had great hopes; but, blessed be God! their hopes are prevented. There is a letter carrying on for maintaining of agents, of which I presume the gentleman that lately wrote the Case of Transplantation (thereby abusing rulers) is to have a considerable share. The Irish are much given that way, the sweetness of which makes some of those that have lived long among them so much desire their company; but assure yourself, that if they were in Connaught, Ireland would be a very good land, and soon all planted."²

The Council of War sitting at Dublin plainly stated the real purpose of the transplantation.

From the officers in the country (as provincials are naturally more stupidly religious than people at head-quarters), came the following petition, in which is strangely mixed the Bible stuff they had crammed their heads and hardened their hearts with, and the true end in view,—the possession undis-

¹

Numb. 26.

P. 4530, "Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs in England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the Transactions of other Nations, from Thursday, March 15th, to Thursday, March 22nd, 1654-5. Entered into the Register's Book according to the Act for Printing. 4to. Printed at London for Robert Ibbetson, dwelling in Smithfield, near Hosier-lane: 1654."

² P. 5136, "Mercurius Politicus," &c.

turbed of the lands they had seized from the gentry of Ireland :—

"The humble Petition of the Officers within the Precincts of Dublin, Catherlough, Wexford, and Kilkenny, in the behalf of themselves, their Souldiers, and other faithful English Protestants, to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland."

They pray that the original order of the Council of State in England, confirmed by Parliament September 27th, 1653, requiring the removal of all the Irish nation into Connaught, except boys of 14 and girls of 12, might be enforced : “For we humbly conceive [say they], that the proclamation for transplanting only the proprietors and such as have bin in arms will neither answer the end of safety nor what else is aimed at thereby. For the first purpose of the transplantation is to prevent those of natural principles [i. e. of natural affections] becoming one with these Irish, as well in affinity as idolatry, as many thousands did, who came over in Queen Elizabeth’s time, many of which have had a deep hand in all the late murthers and massacres. And shall we join in affinity [they ask] with the people of these abominations ? Would not the Lord be angry with us till he consumes us, having said, ‘The land which ye go to possess is an unclean land, because of the filthiness of the people that dwell therein. Ye shall not therefore give your sons to their daughters, nor take their daughters to your sons,’ as it is in Ezra, ix., 11, 12, 14. ‘Nay, ye shall surely root them out before you, lest they cause you to forsake the Lord your God,’ Deut. vii., 2, 3, 4, 16, 18.” . . .

“3rd. Thereby honest men will be encouraged to come and live amongst us, in regard the other three provinces will be free of Tories when there is none left to harbour or relieve them

" 4th. That malice or exasperation of spirit may be prevented that will arise in them against us when they see us enjoy their estates.

" 6th. You may thereby free many from being murthered by those whose relations were killed by their means [i. e. by the English] as instruments in the hand of the Lord, they being a people of such inveterate malice as to continue and labour to revenge themselves twenty or thirty years after an injury received which they cannot do when separated.

" 10th. You will thereby enlarge the liberties of the poor English who are confined within walls and garrisons, to their great impoverishment, in regard that they are fain to house or barn their cattle, and to make use of barren land, whilst the Irish enjoy the benefit of the best land, orchards, and gardens in the country, and keep their cattle abroad both day and night, where they can and do conceal their cattle, which the English cannot do, who by that means will be liable to bear a greater proportion of contribution than the Irish ; all which arguments and reasons we humbly submit to your honours' most serious consideration, desiring the Lord to direct and guide you therein, and what else may tend to the honour of God and comfort of this poor nation."¹

"THE GREAT INTEREST OF ENGLAND IN THE IRISH TRANSPLANTATION STATED," IN ANSWER TO GOOKIN.

Colonel Richard Lawrence, who seems to have been the leading member of the Committee of Transplantation formed on the 21st of November, 1653, published an answer.² He

¹ P. 5236, "Mercurius Politicus," &c.

² "The Interest of England in the Irish Transplantation Stated; chiefly intended as an Answer to a scandalous, seditious Pamphlet, entitled, 'The Great Case of Transplantation in Ireland Discussed.' By a faithful Servant of the Commonwealth, Richard Lawrence." 4to, London: 1655.

said the true reason of the dislike of the Irish to transplant was that they looked to their national interest, and discerned that the transplantation laid the axe at the root of the tree of their future hopes of their recovering their lost ground;¹ and besides their unwillingness to quit the possession of their ancient inheritances, and to be settled upon other men's inheritances in Connaught, they foresaw, perhaps, that the Connaught proprietor might bid them such welcome as they would bid the soldier and adventurer upon their lands.² It was very necessary, besides, to transplant the Irish owners for the making way and giving encouragement to the soldiers, adventurers, and other Protestant planters to plant their lands with English, and settle themselves upon them; which not one out of many would be encouraged to do, if every time when he comes to see his lands the ancient Irish proprietor shall salute him upon it with a sad story of his sufferings and hard usage to have his inheritance taken from him and given to other men. Nay, the posterity of that Irishman shall hardly ever pass by the Englishman's dwelling without cursing him and his successors (in their hearts), and wishing for the time to recover their own again.³

Not only had Protestant statesmen of Ireland who were advised with on the matter, both at Westminster and in Ireland, recommended it, and several solemn meetings been held upon the business, but several godly ministers and other pious Christians had been desired to attend to seek the Lord together with them for direction in this work; and Colonel Lawrence did not remember that any of them had manifested dissatisfaction, or offered reasons against the work, though very many godly and judicious persons complained of its

¹ P. 19, "The Interest of England in the Irish Transplantation," &c.

² Ibid.

³ P. 24, ibid.

limitations and slow pace;¹ and he added, in conclusion, "If any rebellious consequences follow from the mooting of these objections by any Protestant friends of the Irish in such a nick of settlement, I doubt not but God would enable that authority yet in being to let out that dram of rebellious bloud, and cure that fit of sullenness their advocate speaks of."²

Accordingly, the state pressed on the great work. "They were resolved to see it done." Again and again they filled the gaols, threatening to execute the criminals.

Wholesale executions, however, for this crime, seem to have been thought inexpedient; but the government had no scruple, we see, to sending them to the West Indies.

**PENALTY FOR THE CRIME OF NOT TRANSPLANTING, CHANGED
FROM DEATH TO TRANSPORTATION.**

After the summer assizes of 1658 there were a great number of convicts in the gaols of the several counties,³ some under sentence of death passed before 1656, when the penalty was changed to transportation; others condemned at the late assizes to be transported. On 26th October, 1658, His Excellency and the Council wrote to Sir Charles Coote, Knight and Baronet, President of Connaught, and Colonel Thomas Sadleir, Governor of Galway, and directed them to have a ship properly victualled to carry from 80 to 100 of these criminals, to be ready to sail with the first fair wind direct for

¹ "The Interest of England in the Irish Transplantation," &c., p. 9.

² P. 25, *ibid.*

³

"26th January, 1658-9.

Nathaniel Marks, High Sheriff of the Queen's County, is answered, "that the convicts at the late assizes for not transplanting be secured in Mariboro' Castle until the gaol be made capable, pending the general returns of late convictions from all the judges of assize." ^A ₃₀, p. 355.

the Indian Bridges in Barbadoes. They were to deal with the merchant, the owner of the ship, for the cost of removing them under guards from the several prisons to Galway, and for clothing them when needed. The merchant was to have the disposal of them at Barbadoes, and was to set them down in two days after arriving, except ten intended for a particular person in Barbadoes.¹

The following explains the concluding passage in the letter of his Excellency and the Council :—

“Council Chamber, Dublin Castle, 29th Nov., 1658.
“To Mr. Edward Smyth.

“SIR,—I have, by means of a friend of yours, the tenne men and two women hereunder named, ordered to be delivered to yourself or your assigns at the Indian Bridges or other port in the Barbadoes.

“These are only to signify to you the same, and that it is agreed with the merchant that you make discharge and payment for their passage, your friend here having taken care to defray their charge out of prison and conveyance on ship-board.

“THOMAS HERBERT, Clerk of the Council.”²

By these means they continued to clear out the ancient gentry and farmers, and fix them in Connaught, where their condition is now to be considered.

THE TRANSPLANTERS AND THEIR CONNAUGHT ASSIGNMENTS.

The first orders to the Irish nation, which were dated the 14th of October, 1653, directed the strongest and ablest of them to proceed immediately after Christmas, 1653, to Galway, and

¹ $\frac{A}{30}$, p. 338.

² *Ibid.*, p. 343.

to present to the Commissioners of Revenue there inventories setting forth the names and number of persons in their families, the quantity of tillage on the lands they were leaving, and stating whether they were freeholders or leaseholders, in order that the Commissioners of Revenue might set them out lands competent to the stock that they had to bring into Connaught, and set them down on them as proprietors or tenants.¹

Their families were to follow before the 1st of May; meantime they were to prepare housing for their reception. But before the time for moving arrived, Special Commissioners were appointed to perform this duty, as being too much for the Commissioners of Revenue. They were directed to sit at Loughrea instead of Galway, and thenceforth were known always as the Loughrea Commissioners.

On the 6th of January, 1654, they received their first instructions,² which seem to have been prepared by a standing Committee, consisting of Roger Lord Broghill, Colonel Hierome Sankey, Colonel Richard Lawrence, and ten others, who were appointed to sit in the long gallery at Cork House, which then adjoined the Castle of Dublin, every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, to consider all matters referred to them, and amongst others, How the Great Worke of Transplantation might be managed and carried on with most advantage to the Commonwealth.³

These instructions directed that none of the inhabitants

¹ Order of Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland, 14th October, 1653, in Kilkenny Castle.

² "Instructions for Wm. Edwards, Edw. Doyly, Chs. Holcroft, and Hy. Greenoway, Esqrs., Commissioners appointed for the Setting out Lands in Connaught to the Transplanted Irish, who are to remove thither before the 1st of May next." ^A ₈₅, p. 47.

³ Order appointing the Committee, 1st Aug. 1653. ^A ₈₄, p. 364.

of Kerry, Cork, or Limerick were to be placed in Clare (as they might thence perhaps behold their native hills and plains, and be tempted to return, though the width of the Shannon would seem to have been enough to secure the Cork and Kerry inhabitants in their new abodes).

None of the inhabitants of Cavan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, or Donegal, were to be placed in Leitrim, as being too near Ulster, besides being a country full of fastnesses; and, as a general rule, none of those inhabiting within ten miles of the Shannon on this side should be settled near, or have lands assigned to them within ten miles of the other side.

Care was also to be taken that the whole inhabitants of no one county, when transplanted, should have lands assigned to them in any one county in part of Connaught, but should be dispersed; and that the several septs, clans, or families of one name removing should be, as far as possible, dispersed into several places.

Some thoughtful persons, indeed, went so far as to propose to keep the transplanted Irish of English descent separate from the Irish. It was observed that the transplanted in Connaught were a disjointed people, both as to their principles and interest. "For though all of them," said Colonel Lawrence, "be equally Papist, they are not all equally Irish, but a considerable part of them (if not the most considerable) are of ancient English extract (alluding to the Butlers, Talbots, Barnewalls, Plunkets, &c.), who had been of old, and until the late plantation of new English, determined enemies of the Irish."¹ And he proposed that the Irish should be kept still divided by being settled entirely, one of them at the one end, and the other at the other end of the province of Connaught.

¹ "Interest of England in the Well Planting of Ireland with English People Discussed," p. 40. 4to. Dublin : 1656.

He proposed, also, that favours might be extended to the one, viz., the English-descended Irish (as by being planted near towns, &c.), that should not be to the other, by which means their joint agreement against the English interest would be much obstructed.¹ But plans of this nicety could scarce be carried out, considering the numbers passing into Connaught, and the constant taking away of lands by the Government for one cause or the other, so that in the end not a twentieth free-holder had any land assigned to him.²

By the Act of Parliament which assigned Connaught for the habitation of the Irish nation, the only parts reserved from them were the towns, and a belt of ground four miles wide beginning at one statute mile round the town of Sligo, and so winging along the sea coast, to be planted with soldiers, in order to shut out relief by sea from abroad.³ This belt, however, was afterwards carried along the Shannon side, to prevent escape back to the other provinces.⁴ Its breadth, as land became scarce, was reduced first to three miles, and finally contracted to one mile; and the circle of three miles round Portumna, Athlone, Jamestown, Limerick, and the Pass of Killaloe, on the Connaught side, and of 100 acres round Shrue, Gort, and other garrisons given up, the five miles round the town of Galway alone being still reserved.

¹ "Interest of England in the Well Planting of Ireland with English People Discussed," p. 41. 4to. Dublin: 1656.

² "A Continuation of the Brief Narrative and the Sufferings of the Irish under Cromwell," p. 9. 4to. London: 1660.

³ Act for Satisfaction of the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, and of Arrears due to the Souldiery, 26th Sept., 1653. Scobell's "Acts and Ordinances," chap. xii.

⁴ Additional Instructions to Commissioners at Loughrea, 16th June, 1655. A₂, p. 132. Colonel Ingoldsby and others to make the line, 8th April, 1656.

A₁₀, p. 58.

The baronies of Tirrera, and Carbury in Sligo, then Tirrerril, Corran, and Leyney were first taken away, and set out to satisfy the disbanded.¹ And the transplanted who had received assignments there had to gather up their flocks and herds, and with their weary and heart-broken wives and children to begin their wanderings again.² The ancient proprietors, too, who had probably been comparing their happier lot with the poor transplanted, to lose only part of their lands to afford the exiles a maintenance, while they still kept their old mansions, had now to transplant to make way for the English soldiery.³

It will be observed that the barony of Tirrera is bounded on the west by the fine estuary which leads up to Ballina, in Mayo. Opposite is the barony of Tyrawley, with a belt of fine, rich, feeding and grazing land along the estuary, commencing about Killala, near the mouth, and extending to Ballina. The rest, westwards to Erris, partakes of the nature of that barony, and is a waste of heath and bog. The officers now took the good part of Tyrawley, on the ground that by such an English plantation the sea coast would be greatly secured; they left the bad half for the transplanted.⁴ The barony of Burren, and the district of Connemara, were for a time reserved from the Irish, as being near the sea⁵ and great fastnesses, but were finally set out to the transplanted.

Leitrim, which had before been suspended from being set out on account of its being such a strong country, became filled in spite of the order with the Ulster Creaghts.⁶ It was the first land they met with on entering Connaught, and they drove their herds of multitudinous small cows into its moun-

¹ $\frac{\text{A}}{90}$, p. 701.

² $\frac{\text{A}}{90}$, p. 704.

³ $\frac{\text{A}}{5}$, p. 60.

⁴ $\frac{\text{A}}{90}$, p. 51.

⁵ "Proposition of Loughrea Commissioners Answered." $\frac{\text{A}}{85}$, p. 544.

⁶ Id., ib.

tains and valleys and depastured them, suffering less, probably, from the transplantation than others, being accustomed to a wandering life, and to pitch their frail booths, erected of boughs, covered with long strips of green turf, where the pasture suited their herds. They received various summonses to retire. The county was at length taken for the soldiery, to answer arrears before 5th June, 1649; and the ancient proprietors were ordered to remove to the baronies of Murrisk and Borrishool, in Mayo, most resembling Leitrim, in the opinion of the Loughrea Commissioners;¹ but in the opinion of the proprietors it probably only resembled it in its wildest and worst parts.

But the transplanter's trials had only begun when he reached Connaught. The officers employed had to be bribed by money—if the poor transplanter had any money left—if not, by a secret agreement to give the officer part of the land for laying out the rest, as some relief to him and his starving family.² The Cootes, the Kings, the Binghamns, the Coles, the St. Georges, the Ormsbys, the Gores, the Lloyds, having thus defrauded transplanters of part of their lots, bought up the remnant at two shillings and sixpence, and three shillings per acre, and at the utmost, five shillings.³ Major Byrne, having a decree from Athlone for 2000 acres, gave Sir James Cuffe, one of the officers of transplantation at Loughrea, 200 for obtaining his assistance in procuring the remainder. Byrne never got any more, and opposed Sir James Cuffe's claim, in the Court of Claims, to these 200 acres, in

¹ $\frac{\Delta}{30}$, p. 161.

² "Petition of Lord Athenry and Sir Nich^l Plunket, agents for the Irish before the King and Council, against the Connaught Purchasers being secured in their fraudulent purchases from Transplanters by Proviso proposed in the Bill of Explanation." [A. D. 1664,] Lib. D., p. 100. Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

³ Ibid.

1666.¹ Sir Charles Coote purchased Tyrellan, the Marquis of Clanricard's great house near Galway, and 4000 acres of that estate, from transplanters; but gave them up at the Restoration to Clanricard's widow, at the King's request, and on the King's promise that he should be given as good in the county of Dublin.² Or the officer purchased the Athlone decree for a song, and then got his brother officers to set him out larger scopes than the transplanter was entitled to.³

But the transplanter, even after getting a few acres, was not secure. Philip Purcell, of Kilcorish, in the barony of Athlone, county of Galway, on behalf of himself and other transplanted persons, removed into the barony of Athlone, complained (18 June, 1655), that they had been deprived of their assignments by the Connaught proprietors, and turned out into the most unprofitable parts of the country;⁴ and when reinstated, his cows were seized by Major Ormsby for arrears of assessment, due five years before his transplantation.⁵ For it is easy to conceive the sore feelings of the Connaught proprietor, to find himself and his family turned out of his ancient home to make way for a transplanter from Leinster, armed with an assignment from the Commissioners at Loughrea. Thus, Patrick French was forced from his ancestral castle of Monivea, in the county of Galway, to an assignment on part of the Clanricard estate, in order to make way for Lord Trimleston, banished from his manor, near Trim. In 1660, Patrick French lost his lands on the Clanricard estate by the Mar-

¹ "Minute Book of Commissioners of Claims," p. 2. Office of the Crown and Hanaper.

² Earl of Mountrath [Sir C. Coote] to Ormonde. Oct. 10, 1660. "Carte Papers," vol. xxxi., p. 27.

³ "Commission of Enquiry into the Frauds in Connaught Decrees. Art. 8. August, 1663." "Carte Papers," vol. xliv., p. 204.

⁴ $\frac{A}{6}$, p. 346.

⁵ $\frac{A}{12}$, p. 53.

chioness's restoration, yet he could not regain Monivea;¹ for though Lord Trimleston got a decree, and passed a patent to be reinstated in his castle of Trimleston, the Adventurer in possession could not be compelled to resign it till he was given a reprise of lands as good as he had got. And Patrick French, and his wife and daughters, wandered about houseless until Lord Trimleston died, at Monivea, on 17th September, 1667.

Edmund and Meyler Burke, of Moyode, and other lands in the county of Galway, within four miles of Loughrea, gave way to Philip Fitzgerald, a transplanter from Munster, and became tenants to him for part of their inheritance. Philip Fitzgerald being restored, on the King's return, as an Innocent, to his ancient estate, they petitioned (November 10th, 1662), for liberty for themselves and their families to re-occupy their own, pending their claim to innocence entered before the Commissioners of Claims.²

Besides the sufferings of the transplanters from the corrupt dealings of the officers of transplantation, and the hostility of the Connaught proprietors, they had to endure also the vengeance of the transplanted Irish wherever any were known to have favoured the English during the war. On 4th November, 1653, the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland required the members of the High Court of Justice, lately held in the respective provinces in Ireland, to certify the names of those who had given evidence against persons convicted of murder, and had thereby incurred the hatred and malice of the kindred and alliance of the persons condemned,

¹ King's Letter in favour of Patrick French, December 10th, 1661.
"Carte Papers," vol. xlii., p. 250.

² "Petition of Edmund and Meyler Burke." "Carte Papers," vol. ix., p. 219.

as they could not, probably, without much danger, live amongst them in case they transplanted.¹

Edmond Magrath, transplanted from Ballymore, in the barony of Kilnemanagh, in the county of Tipperary, had his woods daily cut, on his assignment in the county of Clare, by the Irish, who bore him no good will (he said), for his services to the English.² They had discovered, no doubt, his acting the spy for Sir William St. Leger, President of Munster, during the war,—a fact that appears in a letter under the Lord Protector's hand, dated March the 11th, 1657–8, restoring him to his ancient estate of 800 Irish acres, in consideration of his having given intelligence to Sir William St. Leger, deceased, as certified to the Protector when he was in Ireland, and by those put in principal authority there by him since.³

Then the accommodation was so bad, from the waste of all houses, that many transplanted families had to build sheds to lie under; and the Commissioners of Parliament empowered Sir Charles Coote, and the Court of Qualifications at Athlone (22nd July, 1655), to give them timber for this purpose, and for ploughs.⁴ Lady Fitzgerald, wife of Sir Luke Fitzgerald, transplanted from Ticroghan Castle, in the county of Meath (which, as guarding the passage by the head waters of the River Boyne, was called one of the pillars of Leinster),⁵ wrote (June 13th, 1655), that all the gentry were transplanted, and fain to live under the air, or in such barracks as her correspondent had at Ballinakill in the siege time.⁶ "Many opulent

¹ *A*
₈₄, p. 711.

² *A*
₁₂, p. 64.

³ "Letters from the Lord Protector, 1654–1658," p. 121. Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

⁴ *A*
₅, p. 203.

⁵ "Ticroghan and Carlow lost, those pillars of Leinster!" "Excommunication of Jamestown." Sir Richard Cox, "Hibernia Anglicana." Appendix, xlvi.

⁶ "Intercepted Letter of James Darcy to John Smith, at Dunkirk." "3rd Thurloe's State Papers," p. 548.

persons of good quality ; yea, and many of them Peers and Lords of the realm," says French, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ferns, "were lodged in smoky cabins, and, as might well be said, buried there, and starved to death with their wives and children."¹

COURT FOR THE CLAIMS AND QUALIFICATIONS OF THE IRISH
AT ATHLONE.

These, however, were only the first rude essays in the great work of transplantation during the first year. They were of less consequence, as the assignments of land were *De Bene Esse*, or conditional, and were only preliminary to the final settlements, which were to be made by the court to sit at Athlone for discriminating the qualifications of the Irish.

These Commissioners, commonly called the Athlone Commissioners, or Court of Claims and Qualifications of the Irish, were appointed (as appears by their commission and instructions) on 28th December, 1654.²

Their business was twofold : first, to discriminate the guilt of every proprietor—that is to say, his "qualification;" and, second, to ascertain the size and value of the lands he lately held on the English side of the Shannon, and the nature of his estate—that is to say, his "claim."

In the Act for Settling Ireland, passed 12th August, 1652,³ there were eight different qualifications. By the first six, death or banishment and forfeiture were declared against all the chief nobility (some of them Protestant Royalists, as the Earl of Ormond, Primate Bramhal, and others), and all the gentlemen of Ireland who had held commissions of Co-

¹ "The Unkinde Deserter of Loyall Men and true Frinds. A. D. 1676." By the Most Rev. Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns. P. 192. 2 vols. 12mo. Duffy. Dublin : 1846.

² $\frac{A}{20}$, p. 53.

³ Scobell's "Acts and Ordinances."

lonels, or any higher rank in the army, led by Ormond as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for King Charles II., in 1649 and 1650, against Cromwell and the Parliamentary forces in Ireland. Swordmen under that rank fell under the 7th qualification, and forfeited two-thirds, and were to transplant. Noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland, being Catholics, who had borne no part in the war, but remained quiet, fell under the 8th qualification, as not having manifested a constant good affection by some outward acts in favour of the Parliament and against the King, and were to transplant for their religion. They forfeited one-third; Protestants in like condition forfeited one-fifth. By the Act for Settling Ireland, all within these qualifications were to receive their proportions of land in Connaught; but by an ordinance of the Protector and Council, Protestants were allowed to compound¹ for a fine equal to one-fifth, and were dispensed with from transplantation. This was equal to two years' annual value, lands being then valued at ten years their annual profits.²

As the whole nation was declared guilty of rebellion, it lay on each claimant to prove both the quantity of his lands, and "the series of his carriages," or his course of conduct during the ten years' war. To check the claimants, the Commissioners were furnished with the Civil Survey, which set forth the names and estates of all the proprietors in 1641,—with the Depositions, taken in 1642, of Protestants complaining of goods taken from them in the first year of the war, in which were entered every idle hearsay they chose to offer, the more monstrous the better. These were duly alphabeted and indexed. They were also supplied with books of the late

¹ Dated 2nd September, 1654. Scobell's "Acts and Ordinances."

² Order of Council made on report of the Commissioners of Revenue on Lord Viscount Moore of Drogheda's Case. Records of late Auditor-General, Custom House, Dublin, vol. xviii., p. 9; on Teig O'Hara's case, ib., p. 19.

Government of Confederate Catholics. Some of these books were discovered and seized at Waterford; others by Colonel Solomon Richards, at Kilkenny, in January, 1654.¹ On the 25th of April, 1654, the Commissioners sent Sergeant Mortimer, the Sergeant-at-Arms attending the Council, to Kilkenny, to receive them by inventory from the Commissioners of the Revenue of that Precinct, with orders to bring them up, and guards were to attend upon him from garrison to garrison, to Dublin Castle.² They comprised the Roll of Association, with the names of all who had become members of the General Assembly by taking the oath, the books of the Supreme Council, and Books of Entries. They were catalogued and indexed by order of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland. On 24th May, 1654, John Smith, for his pains in making catalogues of the books taken at Waterford and Kilkenny, was paid six pounds.³ On the 15th May, 1654, £107 was ordered to be divided between Ralph Wallis (who declared he had been up late and early at the work), and seven other clerks, for making indexes to these books in preparation to the sitting of the Court at Athlone.⁴ These books, as used in evidence against the Irish, were called the Books of Discrimination, and the office where they were lodged, the Discrimination Office, but more popularly "the Black Books," or Black Books of Athlone.⁵ When the Court ended at Ath-

¹ $\frac{A}{90}$, p. 620.

² $\frac{A}{85}$, p. 309.

³ "Council Book," among Auditor-General's Records, vol. x.

⁴ $\frac{A}{1}$, p. 95.

⁵ "To HIS EXCELLENCY THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND,

"The humble Petition of William Cooper, Gentleman,

"SHEWETH,

"That your Petitioner had the charge and custody of the Books of Discrimination (commonly called The Black Books), with all the Kilkenny Books, Rolls of Association, and other proceedings of the Supreme Council, and

lone, on 24 June, 1656, and proceeded to Mallow to hear the claims of the ancient inhabitants of Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, these books were conveyed thither with guards; and when the Mallow proceedings were over, Captain Edward Tomlin, Comptroller of the Train, was ordered on 24 September, 1656, to furnish a close waggon to convey them to Dublin, and four horse soldiers were furnished to attend the waggons from garrison to garrison, to Dublin.

According to the evidence thus afforded, and the testimony of witnesses, the Commissioners decreed that the claimant either had no claim, or fell under the 7th or 8th qualification, and so forfeited two-thirds or one-third; or the claimant got a decree of Constant Good Affection, entitling him to be restored to his estate.

THE LOUGHREA COMMISSIONERS.

It now became the duty of the Loughrea Commissioners to set out lands to the transplanted in quantity according to the Athlone Decrees. The assignments thus made were called Final Settlements, to distinguish them from those which the transplanters first received for the support of their stock of cattle. The business having become more important, Sir

all the Claims and Decrees of Athlone, and several other books relating to the Transplanted Interest in Connaught and Clare, for seven years last past, without making any charge for the same, and hath constantly paid a yearly rent of £15 to Richard Reynall, Esq., for an office to keep the said books and papers from loss and embezzlement, supposing the same might at some time or other be of use to H. M's. service, and be of advantage to your petitioner. That in obedience to your Excellency's order of the 7th November, instant, your petitioner hath prepared perfect inventories of all the said Books, Rolls, Papers, and writings, and hath delivered to the Clerk of the Council, all the said Books, &c., with the said Inventories, &c., as by the said Order he is required, &c."

"15th day of June, 1670.

"Concordatum Orders," unbound, among the Auditor-General's Records, Custom House Buildings.

Charles Coote, President of Connaught, and others, were joined to the other Commissioners at Loughrea.¹

In consideration, however, of the inconveniency that happened to the transplanted Irish, that to their insupportable charges (as they suggested) they were necessitated to travel with their decrees obtained in the Court at Athlone, to the Commissioners at Loughrea, to have lands set out to them pursuant to their decree. The Commissioners were, on 23 June, 1655, directed to remove to Athlone by 1 July following, that the public work of transplantation might be carried on with the most expedition and ease to the said Irish people.² Transcripts of the Down Survey, with the original of the Civil Survey, were sent for the use of the Commissioners of the Court of Qualifications, and transcripts of the old surveys of Connaught and Clare [Strafford's Survey] for the Loughrea Commissioners.³

The Government early in this year directed the Loughrea Commissioners to give the first comers assignments, with houses and other accommodation, to encourage the nation to come on.⁴ Instead of which (strange to say), they began with the baronies of Burren and Inchiquin, in the county of Clare, "generally known and reputed to be sterile," to the hindrance of the transplantation. Transplanters were also set down in counties totally different in character from those which they and their families had been accustomed to.⁵

The cruelty ought to have been apparent of transplanting a nobleman like Lord Trimleston, for instance, with his stock of heavy cattle, from his rich grazing and fattening grounds in Meath, to a sheepwalk in Galway; or John Talbot, of Mala-

¹ 16th June, 1655. $\frac{A}{26}$, p. 99.

² $\frac{A}{5}$, p. 177.

³ $\frac{A}{5}$, p. 175.

⁴ $\frac{A}{30}$, p. 42.

⁵ lb., p. 82.

hide, from his castle and ancient demesne, in the best part of the county of Dublin, to the wilds of Erris, in Mayo, fit only for goats.

To remedy these inconveniences, a committee was appointed on the 1st of February, 1656, in Dublin, consisting of Sir Hardress Waller, Sir Robert King, Major-General Jephson, and Colonel Hewson, and Colonel Sankey, to consider of the nature and quality of the soil of the respective baronies in the three provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Ulster, and what counties and baronies there were beyond the Shannon to which the transplanted Irish were to remove, that might bear a resemblance in proportion and quality of the lands they left in the other provinces, that they might be set down in lands of like quality and quantity in Connaught.¹ And Sir Charles Coote, one of the Loughrea Commissioners, was joined to the committee on account of his experience acquired in Connaught in the business of setting down the transplanted.

On the 12th of February, 1656, this committee submitted their scheme. Besides resemblance, they took into consideration the distance from whence the proprietors were to remove, so that the inhabitants of one county should not be removed to a greater distance from their former estates than others.

According to this scheme, all the inhabitants of Ulster, except the Down and Antrim Irish, were to be set down in various baronies in Mayo and Galway. They lay west of a line drawn due north from the town of Galway, in which were comprised Erris and Connemara, two of the wildest and barrenest districts in Ireland. The committee probably thought it best suited the wild and fierce nature of the Ulstermen, not reflecting nor caring, probably, that in the counties of Armagh,

¹ $\frac{A}{5}$, p. 351.

Tyrone, Monaghan, and Cavan, there are some fine lands, the owners of which must suffer great hardship in being set down amongst the heath and rocks of Erris. But these niceties could not, of course, be attended to. The Down and Antrim men, being of ancient Scottish descent, originally from the Hebrides and adjacent coast of Scotland, with some antagonism to the rest of Ulster, were to be set down in the baronies of Clanmorris, Carra, and Kilmaine, keeping them still divided from the other Ulstermen.

To the Kildare, Meath, Queen's County, and Dublin Irish, coming from the finest feeding and fattening lands in Ireland, were assigned the barony of Boyle, comprising the famous plains of Boyle, that fatten a bullock and a sheep to the acre ; and the baronies of Roscommon and Ballintubber, and the half barony of Bellamo, in the county of Roscommon ; and so of the rest.¹

Their proposals follow :—

“ Proposals in order to assigning certain Baronies in Connaught and Clare to certain Counties in the other Provinces.

“ The inhabitants of the Province of Ulster (except the Counties of Down and Antrim) to be transplanted into the Baronies of Muckullen, Rosse, and Ballinihinsey, in the territory of Ere Connaught, and County of Galway (except what is reserved by the Lyne on the Sea), and into the Baronies of Moyrisk, Burryshoule, and the half barony of Irish [Erris], parte of Tyrawley Barony (parte of it being given to the soldiers), and Costello Barony (except what is on the line aforesaid), and into Tyaquin Barony, in the Co. of Galway.

“ The inhabitants of the Counties of Corke and Wexford to be transplanted into the Baronies of Dunkellyn and Kil-

¹ 12th Feb., 1655-6, “ Proposals for effecting the better setting down of the Irish transplanted into Connaught.” ^A ₂₄, p. 189.

tartan, in the County of Galway (except what is on the lyne on the sea), and into Athlone Barony and the half Barony of Moycarnane (except what is on the lyne of the Shannon), in the County of Roscommon.

“The inhabitants of the County of Kerry to be transplanted into Inchiquin and Burren Baronies, in the County of Clare, and into the territories of Artagh, in the Barony of Boyle, in the County of Roscommon.

“The inhabitants of the Counties of Down and Antrim to be transplanted into the Baronies of Clanmorris, Carra, and Kilmaine, in the County of Mayo.

“The inhabitants of the Counties of Kilkenny, Westmeath, Longford, King’s County, and Tipperary, to be transplanted into the Baronies of Tullagh, Bunratty, Islands, Corcomroe, Clonderlau, Moyfartagh, and Ibrican, in the County of Clare, and into the half Barony of Bellamo, in the County of Galway.

“The inhabitants of the Counties of Catheragh, Waterford, and Limerick, into the half Baronies of Loughrea and Leitrim, and the Baronies of Dunmore and Kilconnell, and the half Barony of Longford (except what is in the lyne), in the County of Galway.

“And the inhabitants of East Meath, Kildare, Queen’s County, and Dublin, into the Baronies of Roscommon and Ballintobber, in the half Barony of Bellamo and the Barony of Boyle (except the territory of Artagh), in the County of Roscommon.

“Memorandum.—That Louth is reputed much better land than Wicklow, and to be accordingly estimated.

“*Dated at Dublin, 12th February, 1656-6.*

“HARDRESS WALLER. CHARLES COOTE. ROBERT KING.

JOHN HEWSON. WM. JEPHSON. HIEROME SANKEY.”¹

¹ $\frac{\Delta}{26}$, p. 189.

The plan of consigning to the four baronies of Ballintober in Roscommon, and Athlone in Galway, and Tulla and Bunratty in Clare, "Irish widows of English extraction" (by which are to be understood the widows of the nobility and ancient English gentry—ladies such as Viscountess Mayo, Lady Louth, Lady Grace Talbot, Lady Dunboyne, &c.), was the suggestion of the Committee of Transplantation, as early as 5th of May, 1654.¹ In the following year it was conceived that three would be enough, and Ballintober was cut off.²

Notwithstanding the vast amount of Connaught already withdrawn from Transplanters, the Commissioners had orders to reserve one choice barony in Clare, and one in Galway, for the disposal of the Government.³

For the Lord Henry Cromwell, also, was reserved Portumna Castle, park, and gardens, the ancient seat of the Earls of Clanrickard, with 6000 acres next adjoining.⁴

Sir Charles Coote, Colonel Sadleir, Major Ormsby, and others did not think it beneath them to still further diminish the fund of land,⁵ for the support of the exiled Irish nation, and got grants in Connaught. Two-thirds of Mayo was taken to answer soldiers' arrears of Cromwell's army of Ireland, incurred in England before the 5th of June, 1649; and as the remaining third was mountainous and maritime, the Commissioners of Parliament thought they might as well make a clean sweep of Mayo; the Loughrea Commissioners were therefore ordered to take care that no Irish should set down within that county either as proprietors or tenants, to the end it should be planted with English,—that importing most of public safety

¹ Order Book of Council, Custom House Buildings, vol. vii.

² $\frac{A}{S}$, p. 111.

³ $\frac{A}{10}$, p. 55.

⁴ $\frac{A}{10}$, p. 277; and see Letter of Henry Cromwell, *supra*, p. 137, n. *ib.*

⁵ $\frac{A}{10}$, p. 266.

and advantage.¹ This, however, would seem to have been given back when they found that all disposable lands had been set out, except the two reserved baronies, and except what was waste and remote; and that many Irish proprietors and their families, who had left fine estates, were still unaccommodated, and reduced to little better than a starving condition.²

The rule of Settlement now became impracticable. Mr. Thomas Shortall³ and Mr. Richard Nugent,⁴ and others, complained that their Athlone decrees were not satisfied in the baronies appointed for those in their capacity. Maurice Lord Viscount Roche, of Fermoy, was sent off on his wearisome and fruitless journey on foot to the Owles, in the wildest and remotest part of Connaught⁵ (and had nothing but his labour for his pains), instead of being set down with the inhabitants of the county of Cork, in the baronies of Kiltartan and Dunkellin in the county of Galway, or of Athlone, or Moycarnon, in Roscommon.

**COURT AT MALLOW FOR THE CLAIMS AND QUALIFICATIONS OF
THE IRISH OF CORK, YOUGHAL, AND KINSALE.**

It was before a court at Athlone that the Irish nation had to appear, to receive each man his doom. An exception, however, was made in favour of "the Ancient inhabitants of Cork, Kin-sale, and Youghal,"⁶ for whose trial a court was held at Mallow by the same judges as sat at Athlone, and these Ancient inhabitants were granted the peculiar privilege, that they were not in the mean time forced to transplant like the rest of the na-

¹ **A**
 $\frac{1}{10}$, p. 123.

² **A**
 $\frac{2}{26}$, p. 233.

³ **A**
 $\frac{1}{12}$, p. 230.

⁴ Ib., ib.

⁵ See at close of this chapter.

⁶ The case of the ancient natives of Youghal is not given in the Mallow Commissioners' Report; but they were turned out of that town at the same time as the natives of Cork.

tion, but were permitted to reside in the county of Cork until the sitting of the court.

The conduct which entitled them to this signal distinction was their loyalty to the English interest, as it was called ; for though they were all Roman Catholics, they united themselves to the English and Protestant forces, shut the gates, manned the walls, and kept watch and ward with them against their own countrymen and co-religionists.

One would expect that the judgment of the Commissioners, if it did not mark them out for further favour, would at least have declared that they were not to be included in the dreadful doom pronounced on the rest of the nation.

But by the proceedings of the court, of which there remains a full account under the hands of the Commissioners themselves, it will be seen that it was easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for an Irish adversary of the English rebels, dwelling in Ireland, to escape transplantation to Connaught.

When the rebels of England, at the end of the year 1643, induced the rebels of Scotland by a gift of £100,000 to invade England a second time to help them against the King, the King turned to Ireland to obtain forces, and Lord Ormond, at his command, sent him over considerable bodies of troops.

But the King placed his chief hopes in the aid he expected to derive from the Confederate Catholics upon the conclusion of a treaty for a peace : preliminary to which he directed Lord Ormond to enter into a Cessation of arms with them. The new English of Ireland, composed chiefly of Planters since Queen Elizabeth's time, whose hatred and fear of the Irish, on account of the injuries they had inflicted on them, far exceeded their loyalty to the King, could not endure the idea of the King's vanquishing the rebels of England by such

aid. "Where would the Protestant religion be," they asked, "if the King conquered by the aid of the Irish?"¹ Or, rather (for this was the religion they thirsted after), where would the lands of the ancient nobility, gentry, and people of Ireland be in that case, which, to the extent of £2,500,000 acres, the Parliament had already confiscated by anticipation, while the Puritan rebels and their followers had in imagination swallowed up the rest? The Earl of Inchiquin, who commanded large forces in Munster for the King, and had his head-quarters at Cork, now turned over for this cause to the Parliament side. He wrote to his brother Henry, who held Wareham with his (Inchiquin's) regiment, for the King, to deliver that town to the Parliament, and bring the regiment to Ireland; and wrote letters to Colonel Mynn, Colonel Poulet, and Colonel St. Leger, urging them also to bring back their forces to Munster.² These were regiments that had been sent over to aid the King against the Parliament, in the year 1643, on the Cessation made with the Irish. He impressed upon them his conviction that "deserving men would have the estates of their enemies conferred upon them by the Parliament at the end of this war, as it was at the end of the last war, i. e. Tyrone's wars."³ This could not be expected if the King were to put down the rebellion of England by the aid of the Irish. Meantime he drove out all the Old English inhabitants of Irish birth, pretending he could not be safe with them because they were "Irish" and Catholic, though they had shut the gates against the Irish

¹ "A Letter from the Right Hon. the Lord Inchiquin and the other Commanders in Munster to His Majestie, expressing the Reasons for not holding the Cessation any longer with the Rebels, &c.; with several other Letters to Friends here in England, advising them to return to their former Charges in Ireland, &c. Published by authority." 4to. London: 1644.

² Ib.

³ Ib.

in 1641, and had ever since joined with the King's forces, defending the town against them. Sending for the mayor and corporation at 6 in the morning, on 26 July, under pretence that he had to make a journey to Doneraile, and would speak with them before his departure, he got them into his garden, and there kept them surrounded by soldiers, horse and foot, with lighted matches. Then, attended only by the sheriffs, he proceeded through the streets ordering all the Irish inhabitants (as they were called), both old men and young men, to withdraw out of the city ; which done, he ordered out the clergy, and also the women of what quality soever, but to carry nothing with them, his lordship observing, in answer to the remonstrance of the mayor, "that if they were all lords, they must all begone." While thus detained, the troops with their petronels ready spanned in their hands, were driving the rest of the inhabitants out of the city, locking up their houses and taking their keys into their keeping ; so that in less than two or three hours' time the city was depopulated, and not an Irish inhabitant left therein, and they and their wives and children left with no other lodging but under hedges and ditches, being not able to put one bit into their mouths.¹ When Inchiquin returned again to the King's interest in 1648, the Irish inhabitants, or such of them as survived, were let back, but only to be again driven out on the revolt of the English garrison to Cromwell, 23rd October, 1649, "when they were plundered of all that ever they had, insomuch as for the space of twenty-four hours one did not know the miseries of the other, by which means (says Philip Martel, in his petition of 22nd December, 1649), the poor inhabitants have a greater

¹ "A Relation of the passadges between the Lord Inchiquin and the Mayor and Aldermen of Corke, upon his Lopp^b expelling the Irish inhabitants of the city, subcribed by Robert Coppinger, Mayor, and John Galwaye, Sheriff, July, 1644." "Carte Papers," vol. xi., 402.

sense of the last than of the former plundering."¹ At the same time that Inchiquin turned out the Irish in 1644, he wrote over to England, suggesting that the Parliament should give the houses and lands of the expelled inhabitants to the English remaining in the city of Cork.²

As Irish evidence is not to be believed unless it be to the prejudice of the nation (according to the maxim that an Irishman's oath is of no value except to hang another), the loyalty of the Ancient natives of Cork would probably not be credited unless upon English testimony. Against the calumnious and interested charges of Lord Inchiquin, therefore, there is to be set the solemn report of the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Anglesey, and Sir George Hamilton (no friends of the Irish), made at the order of the King, on the petition of these expelled inhabitants, who prayed at the Restoration to be restored to their lands and former habitations.

By this report it was certified that the ancient natives of Cork had at all times from the breaking out of the troubles and disturbances acted with and for the English interest equally with the English Protestants; that when they were put out of their houses and from their habitations, they, to hold still firm to their loyalty, had immediate recourse, and only refuge by their mayor, Robert Coppering, to the Lord Marquis of Ormond, as the proper centre, in whose hands they deposited the badges of their privileges—namely, the sword, mace, and cap of maintenance; and his Lordship, in acknowledgment of such faithful and loyal deportment, knighted the said Robert Coppering; and then promised, in the behalf of his late Majesty, to render unto them in seasonable time the said sword, and mace, and cap of maintenance,

¹ "Carte Papers," vol. clvi., 499.

² "A Letter," &c., p. 166, *supra*.

and to testify to their advantage how properly they had deposited the same in due time.¹

They further reported that it appeared by two several letters from his late Majesty of ever blessed memory, in the years 1643 and 1644, directed to the mayor, aldermen, and commons of that city, that they had, towards the maintenance of His Majesty's army, issued in loans and otherwise the sum of £30,000, besides their other sufferings mentioned in their former petition, amounting to £60,000; and when their stock in corn was totally exhausted, they willingly gave up their plate, household stuff, and moveables, to advance his late Majesty's service, which the said late King declared himself so sensible of, that he said the same should be in due time remembered to their great advantage, and returned to their loyal bosoms.² The inhabitants further alleged, that in the beginning of the Rebellion they invited the English into the city. And when the ancient natives were expelled, "some of them had their throats cut by the Tories (the rascal Irish), for their joining with the English."³

The case of the Ancient inhabitants of Kinsale is to be found in the report of Cromwell's Commissioners. The Court was opened on the 22nd of July, 1656. On the 29th, the case of Thomas Toomey (otherwise Thomas) was heard. Most of the claims depended upon it. The judges heard it at great length. They adjourned to the following morning, to allow the counsel at the bar to speak to it. The claimant owned a house in Kinsale, under a lease made in 1635. He was a shipwright, and worked in the King's dockyard there. It was proved that he shut the gates against the Irish in 1641; that he served as a corporal under Captain John Farlo; that he

¹ Report, dated 13th February, 1661, Liber D., of a series of volumes, folio, relating to the Act of Settlement, in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

² Ib. ³ "Concerning Innocency." "Carte Papers," xliv., 132.

kept watch and ward when the rebels besieged the town. It came out, however, that after Inchiquin revolted from the Parliament, in 1649, and returned to the King's side, contribution was collected by the magistrates, and paid by Toomey¹ (as by all the other inhabitants) to his receivers ; that distresses were taken on everybody ; none durst refuse payment of contribution to Inchiquin. This, however, was the claimant's ruin. It deprived him of the plea of Constant Good Affection, which but for this he might have maintained. He had "contributed money or victuals not levied by actual force," and this brought him within the Eighth qualification. The consequences appear from the following special report of these proceedings made by the Commissioners to the Government :—

"COURT AT MALLOW FOR THE QUALIFICATIONS OF THE IRISH
THAT FORMERLY INHABITED THE TOWNS OF CORKE,
YOUGHAL AND KINSALE.

" 29th of August, 1656.

" This day the claimants' counsel demanded the judgment of the Court upon the point of Constant good affection ; and first in the case of Thomas Toomey of Kinsale, whether upon proof he hath manifested Constant good affection.

" MR. JUSTICE COOKE.—Negative.

" MR. JUSTICE HALSEY.—Negative.

" It is adjudged that Thomas Toomey hath not manifested Constant good affection ; but falls within the eighth qualification, to have two parts of his estate in Connaught.

" COURT.—The counsel for Thomas Toomey is to proceed upon his title.²

¹ It would seem from this that the ancient inhabitants of Kinsale continued to dwell there during the whole war.

² That is, to prove what lands he was formerly possessed of, in order to regulate the quantity to be now set out to him in Connaught.

" **MR. SILVER.**—He is resolved not to go into Connaught.

" **MR. HOARE.**—And so they are all.

" **MR. SILVER.**—My clients do further demand the judgment of the Court, whether they, and how many of them, have proved their Constant good affections?

" **COURT.**—We have seriously considered of the several cases and several claimants named, as George Gold Fitz-Wiliam, Dominick Sarsfield, David Terry, Patrick Galway, James Gough, Patrick Meagh, Stephen Coppinger, Patrick Roth, John Coppinger, James Murrow, John Levallyn, James Levallyn (and so all the claimants were named particularly).

" **JUSTICE HALSEY.**—If you demand of us any further judgment in any particular client's case, you shall have it; though you see we have run over them all.

" **CLAIMANTS' COUNSEL.**—We humbly demand the judgment of the Court upon the whole, whether any Claimant hath proved Constant good affection?

" **JUSTICE COOKE.**—Negative.

" **JUSTICE HALSEY.**—Negative.

" Resolved by the Court, that not any one of a Popish claimant hath proved Constant good affection.

" **JUSTICE COOKE.**—Now proceed upon the title distinctly.

" **CLAIMANTS' COUNSEL.**—Not one of our clients will proceed.

" **COURT.**—You had best to advise your clients what to do. We shall stay your leisure. Therefore adjourn till the afternoon.

" *Saturday Afternoon.*

" **JUSTICE COOKE**, present; **JUSTICE HALSEY**, present.

" **COURT.**—Will the counsel, or any of the attorneys for any of the claimants, proceed to their titles?

" **MR. SILVER.**—James Gough, Patrick Meagh, Stephen Coppinger, Patrick Roth, John Coppinger, James Murro,

John Leavallyn (and so all the claimants were named particularly).

“COURT.—We have considered of the several causes of every claimant in Court, and have singled out about thirty which may come nearest to Constant good affection. And we cannot find that any of them hath manifested Constant good affection according to the strict rule of law, but all fall short in some point or other.

“CLAIMANTS’ COUNSEL.—We hope in equity our clients shall not be sent into Connaught among their enemies.

“COURT.—We must proceed, as our Commission requires, according to law; and we cannot find how the Irish can be in a better condition than the English (who are to forfeit a fifth for their delinquency) had it not been for His Highness’ Ordinance of Indemnity.¹

“CLAIMANTS’ COUNSEL.—Our clients would willingly lose a great deal more.

“COURT.—We cannot alter the law, but must judge according to law.

“MR. SILVER.—Our clients will not take any lands in Connaught. We have demanded the judgment of the Court concerning the several estates of our clients that are Protestants, as, namely, Mr. Robert Southwell, William Chidley, William Howell, Christopher Sugar, and others, who were Protestants and proprietors at the time of the Act of Settlement.

“COURT.—We shall consider of the several cases of the Protestant claimants who had *bona fide* purchased from Papists before the Act of Settlement, as to that point only, whether

¹ Protestants who had not shown a Constant good affection to the Parliament were liable to transplantation. By an ordinance of 2nd September, 1654, they were allowed to compound for two years’ annual value of their real and personal estates, which was equal to one-fifth as lands were then rated, viz., at ten years’ purchase, and to be spared from transplantation.

they can be in a better position than those from whom they claim.

“**JUSTICE COOKE.**—Proceed, therefore, to the titles of your Irish clients.

“**CLAIMANTS’ COUNSEL.**—We have advised with our clients, and they are resolved not to take any lands in Connaught.

“The First proclamation was made.

“**COURT.**—Crier, make proclamation again, that all persons who have any business here to do may come in and be heard.

“Second proclamation was made.

“**COURT.**—Will you proceed before the last proclamation be made, or else it will be too late?

“**CLAIMANTS’ COUNSEL.**—We humbly pray the Court to adjourn till Munday, that we may better advise with our clients.

“**COURT.**—Adjourn till Munday, at 8 of the clock.

“*Munday, Sept. 1, 1656.*

“**COOKE**, present; **HALSEY**, present.

“**COURT.**—Will any of the claimants proceed upon their titles, that they may have their proportions in Connaught?

“**CLAIMANTS’ COUNSEL.**—There being only present Mr. Hoare and Mr. Silver, Attorneys (Mr. Fisher, Mr. Jones, Mr. Barber, and all the other Protestant practizers having left the Court),

“**MR. SILVER.**—The claimants will not a man of them proceed unless they may enjoy their own estates; they will not go into Connaught.

“**COURT.**—They must transplant according to law.

“The Court urged them several times to proceed, but they would not.

“**COURT.**—Make proclamation, requiring all that have any business at this Court to come in and proceed.

"Third proclamation made.

"Nothing moved.

"The claimants made a noise, some of them saying they had rather go to the Barbadoes than into Connaught amongst the rebels. "

"COURT.—We shall consider of the claims of the Protestants, and they shall know our judgment thereon.

"The Court arose, and day to" —¹

They append the following letter :—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS,

"Upon mature consideration (so far as the Lord hath enabled us) we have proceeded to judgment in the causes depending before us, and have not adjudged Constant good affection to any one of the claimants ; but the law will be clear for most of them to have two parts in Connaught. We have endeavoured to the utmost of our apprehensions to convince and satisfy the claimants and standers by of the legality and justice of our proceedings ; and because in so great an expectation we feared that, if all should be transplanted, it might seem to carry some face of rigour, we spared no pains to distinguish the merits of each case ; and as we were selecting ten or twenty that might best pretend to be legally restored to their own estates, the next claimants had instantly as much to say for themselves ; and when he had named and weighed about eighty-six cases, which possibly might come nearest to the mark of Constant good affection, presently the claimants' counsel named others to us, which we in our reason could not deny but that they did equally merit with the rest ; so as we found an absolute necessity to deny Constant good affection to all or none (some very few exceptions that will fall within

¹ Blank in the Report.

1st or 7th qualification); and that which turned the scale was their residence with Inchiquin after his revolt.

"We have called upon them to proceed to their titles, and adjudged the 8th qualification to many of them, which for the present they decline and refuse, and will not proceed upon their titles, so as we can proceed no further therein.

"They make great asseverations that they dare not go into Connaught for fear of their lives, and that they had rather be sent to the Barbadoes, which we tell them are vain and frivolous allegations, and that by law they are transplantable. So most of them have left us. We have caused several proclamations to be made that if any person have anything to do he may come in and be heard; and shall stay so long as any of them will proceed. Having done according to our Commission, to the best of our skill and knowledge, and so we humbly remain,

"Your Lordships' most humble

"And faithful Servants,

"JOHN COOKE, WM. HALSEY.

"P. S.—If your Lordships shall be pleased to enlarge our Commission until the 29th inst., my brother Santhy and myself will have ended the circuit (God willing), by the 16th inst., and be at Moyallo by the 18th inst., where we have ordered the clerk to stay for us.

"J. COOKE.

"*To the Honourable the Lord Deputy and Council
for the Affairs of Ireland.*"¹

But Cromwell, by special Ordinance, exempted them from transplantation to Connaught, assigning them to dwell in

¹ From a quarto volume in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle, endorsed,
"Mallow Proceedings."

the baronies of Barrymore and Muskerry, two miles distant, at least, from any walled town or seaport.¹ And there they were continued by the Act of Settlement, and thence might behold the ancient dwellings of themselves and their families shared between the Cromwellian soldiers and the 'Forty-nine Protestant Royalist Officers.'²

CONCLUSION—WITH INSTANCES OF SOME TRANSPLANTERS' SUFFERINGS.

Walter Cheevers, of Monkstown, descended from a family that came in with the Conquest³ of Henry II., was possessed in 1641 of a large estate between Dublin and Kingstown. The ruins of his castle are still to be seen not far from the Salthill station of the Dublin and Kingstown railway. The Marquis of Ormond and Sir Maurice Eustace, by their report made to the King after the Restoration, certified that of their own knowledge he was very innocent of the rebellion, and had been very faithful to the King and his Royal Father of Blessed Memory, and knew no reason why he should be deprived of his estate more than that Colonel Edmund Ludlow had obtained a grant of it from Oliver Cromwell.⁴ But he was a

¹ "Abstract of the Proceedings concerning the Rebels, or Forfeited Estates in Ireland, from the 23rd of October, 1641, to 9th May, 1659." Volume B. "Collections concerning the Act of Settlement," p. 252. Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

² 14th and 15th Chas. II. (A.D. 1661), chap. 2, xviiith clause of His Majesty's Declaration of Settlement of 30 Nov. 1660.

³ John Cheevers, of Mayston, in the county of Meath, in his petition to the Lords Justices, sets forth that his ancestors have until the usurper's time enjoyed the lands granted unto them by King Henry II. on the Conquest. Vol. M., p. 439, papers relating to the Act of Settlement; Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

⁴ "Recitals in the King's Letter, dated at Whitehall, 22nd Nov., 1660. Addressed 'To the Chief Baron, to the Sheriff of the County of Dublin, and all other our loving subjects whom it may concerne.'

Book of King's Letters, Chief Remembrancer's Office, Court of Exchequer of Ireland.

Catholic and an Irishman (as that term was understood in England), and had not shown that Constant good affection to the Parliament of England that alone exempted the Irish from transplantation. He was, moreover, guilty of another crime (like the bear, who is often killed, not for what he has done, but for his skin)—he had a fine house and estate. This was granted by Cromwell to General Ludlow, one of the Commissioners of Parliament for the affairs of Ireland; and Mr. Cheevers was ordered to transplant, with his family, to Connaught. On the 16th December, 1653, he sent in to the Commissioners of Revenue of the precinct of Dublin the particulars required by government from all transplanters, by which may be seen the number of his family, and the extent of his stock and crop, and what tenants or friends proposed to accompany him to Connaught. The certificate is as follows:—viz. :—“Walter Cheevers, of sanguine complexion, brown hair, and indifferent stature; his wife, Alson Netterville, otherwise Cheevers, with five children, the eldest not above seven years old; four women servants, and seven men servants, viz., Daniel Barry, tall stature, red beard, bald pate; Thady Cullen, of small stature, browne haire, no haire on his face; Morgan Cullen, of small stature, blind of one eye, with black haire; Philip Birne, aged about forty years, black haire, low stature; William Birne, tall stature, aged thirty-five years; Patrick Corbally, aged forty years, red haire, middle stature. The said Walter doth manure twenty colpe of corn, and hath twenty cows, sixty sheep, thirty hoggs, two ploughs of garrans. The tenants willing to remove with him are Arthur Birne, of little stature, brown haire, aged thirty years; Dudley Birne, middle stature, brown haire, aged twenty-five years—which tenants have a plough of garrans, twelve cows, forty sheep; Martin M’Guire, tall of stature, and redd haire, aged thirty years, hath six cows, four

garrans, twenty sheepe ; Tho^r. Eustace, lowe stature, browne haire, twenty-five years, hath ten cows, forty sheep, a plough of garrans, and ten hoggs. The substance whereof we conceive to be true.

“ In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands
and seals, the 19th day of December, 1653.

“ H. MARKHAM, R. DOYLY,
“ Tho^r. HOOKER. ISAAC DOBSON.”¹

When proceeding to Connaught, to obtain a Final Settlement there from the Commissioners sitting at Athlone, he took a letter to them from the State, directing them to assign him lands with a good house upon them, so as to enable him and his family to subsist and render his being there comfortable, in consideration that he had parted with a fair house and a considerable estate near Dublin,² of which they all probably had personal knowledge, as it is only natural to suppose they must have often dined at Monkstown Castle with their brother Commissioner, General Edmund Ludlow. But the Athlone Commissioners were either unable or unwilling to comply with the order; for Mr. Cheevers had recourse again to government, complaining that he had not obtained the favour the government intended for him.³ The truth was, it was found in July, 1657, that the lands in Connaught had fallen short to satisfy the decrees of the Athlone Commissioners, “ except what was so remote and waste as to be useless ; and many Irish who (like Cheevers) had parted with considerable estates and

¹ Book of Transplanters' Certificates, returned from the several precincts in the Province of Leinster, viz. Dublin, Wexford, Carlow, Kilkenny, Athy, Athlone, and Drogheda. Records of the late Auditor-General's Office, Custom House Buildings.

² Letter from the Council, dated 27th August, 1656. A 30, p. 179.

³ Ib., ib.

convenient habitations, were thereby reduced to little better than a starving condition." And, notwithstanding the Commissioners had contracted the three-mile line along the sea coast to one mile, and had given up to transplanters the lands about different garrisons, reserving only 500 acres around Clare Castle, 100 acres round Cahir na Mart (or Westport), 700 acres about Athlone, and lands of a mile compass about Carrigaholt, the government were informed there would still not be sufficient to satisfy the decrees given to the transplanted.¹

Pierce Butler, Viscount Ikerrin, was the ancestor of the Earls of Carrick, a younger branch of the house of Ormond. He dwelt at Lismalin Park, in the barony of Ikerrin, in the county of Tipperary, contiguous to the county of Kilkenny, where the ruins of his ancient castle may still be seen on a hill side, overlooking a pleasant valley. Like the rest of his house (with the exception of the Earl of Ormond, who, being a king's ward, had been brought up, by order of the Court of Wards, a branch of the Court of Chancery, a Protestant), he was a Roman Catholic; and having, with the rest of his countrymen of that persuasion, taken the King's side against the Parliament, and been Lieutenant-General of the Leinster army, under Lord Mountgarret, he was included in the Decree of Confiscation pronounced by the Parliament of England, on the 12th August, 1650, against all who had not manifested their constant good affection to their interest. After the surrender of the Leinster Irish to the Parliament forces under the articles signed at Kilkenny on 12th May, 1650, he returned to the neighbourhood of Lismalin Park, and was there employed as tenant at will to the state, farming those lands that were so soon to pass to the conquerors, when the order of 14th October,

¹ $\frac{A}{30}$, Letter of 27th July, 1657.

1653, was proclaimed, directing the Irish nation to transplant themselves into Connaught before the 1st of May following. On the 25th of January, 1654, he proceeded to Clonmel, and presented to the Commissioners of Revenue there the particulars of his family and establishment, their names, ages, and descriptions, the extent of his stock and tillage, and the names of those of his tenants and friends who were disposed to go down with him into captivity in Connaught. By an abstract of this certificate it appears that between his family and tenants he had seventeen persons to accompany him. He had already tilled and cropped sixteen acres of winter corn ; he had four cows, five garrans (or cart horses), twenty-four sheep, and two swine;¹ which he was to leave behind him in charge of Lady Ikerrin, while he was to go forward into Connaught to build a hut to shelter her and his daughters, who were to follow in autumn with the cows, sheep, swine, and household furniture. For on a general complaint that transplanters would be great sufferers in their corn in ground, and other substance, if they were not permitted to look after their harvest, they obtained license for their wives and families to continue upon their holdings until harvest came in (with a general provision for all aged, decrepit, and sickly persons, that they might not be put on hard things), which gave the government, according to the usual practice of rulers, cause to praise themselves for their great mercy and kindness, because of this modification of their cruelty.² Lord Ikerrin, having fallen sick, as the 1st of May, the time for transplanting, approached, got license on account of his distemper to repair to the Bath in England for six months, necessary, according to his physician's advice,

¹ Book of Transplanters' Certificates of the precinct of Waterford. Records of the late Auditor-General's Office, Custom House Buildings.

² Lawrence, "Interest of England in the Irish Transplantation Stated," p. 7. London : 1655.

for the recovery of his health ; and Lady Ikerrin was dispensed with from transplantation for two months from the 1st of May, and her servants till the harvest was gathered in.¹ On his return to Ireland some judgment may be formed of his poverty by an order of the Council of 27th November, 1654, by which Sergeant Mortimer (Sergeant-at-Arms attending the Council) was to pay the Lord Ikerrin £20 in consideration of his necessitous condition ; after which the said Lord Ikerrin was to acquiesce in the late order of this board for prosecuting his claim at Athlone, and not to expect any more money by order of this Council.² Lord Ikerrin, however, still evaded transplantation ; for in 1656 he went over to London, and in London found means to approach the Lord Protector, who finding him in an extremely poor and miserable condition, without means to subsist in London, or to return back to Ireland, bestowed upon him some relief, and wrote to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to allow him some proportion of his estate without transplanting him, or to provide some relief out of the revenue for him and his family : " For, indeed," adds the Lord Protector, " he is a miserable object of pity ; and we desire that care be taken of him, and that he be not suffered to perish for want of subsistence."³ How this poor nobleman fared

¹ Order of 24th April, 1654. A
85, p. 304.

² Volume of Treasury Warrants (No. 14). Late Auditor-General's Office, Custom House Buildings.

³ " To the Right Hon. y^e Lord Deputy and Councell in Ireland.

" MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—We being informed by several persons, and also by certificates from several officers under our command in Ireland, that the Lord Viscount Ikerrin hath been of later times serviceable to suppress the Tories ; and we being very sensible of the extreme poor and miserable condition in which his lordship now is, even to the want of sustenance to support his life ; we could not but commiserate his sad and distressed condition by helping him to a little relieve, without which he could neither subsist here nor returne back to Ireland ; and therefore do earnestly desire you to take him into speedy con-

after Cromwell's interference does not appear. But Lismalin had passed irrevocably to the soldiery ; for it gave Sir William Petty opportunity of retorting upon his adversary, Colonel Hierome Sankey, "his unhandsome dealings with his soldiers in the matter of Lismalin Park." No further payments appear made to Lord Ikerrin, and he probably soon sank under his misfortunes, for at the Restoration his grandson claimed the estate before the Commissioners of Claims.¹

But even after getting an assignment the poor transplanter was not secure ; the Commissioners by mistake or fraud might have given it to another ; such was the case of Maurice Viscount Roche of Fermoy. Viscount Roche's grandfather had three sons slain in Tyrone's wars, fighting for Queen Elizabeth. His father was of such *constancies*, that when all Munster in general combined against their anointed sovereign, he continued himself within the *lists* of an obedient subject.² His father was the emblem, as it were, of English fidelity ; for when one of the Irish chieftains came in and submitted, and promised to be loyal, but was asked, "But what if the Spaniards

sideration, by allowing him some reasonable proportion of his estate without transplanting him, or otherwise to make some provision for him and his family elsewhere, and to allow him some competent pension or money out of the revenue. Indeed he is a miserable object of pity, and therefore we desire that care be taken of him, and that he be not suffered to perish for want of a subsistence :

" And rest, your loving friend,

" OLIVER, P.

A
28, "Whitehall, 27th February, 1657."

Book of Letters from the Lord Protector, Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

¹ "7th June, 1666, Viscount Ikerrin claims as an innocent Protestant ; was born in 1639 ; was a student at Maudlin, Oxford, where he went to church ; at Athlone went to church ; Dean Blood administered the sacrament to him at St. Owen's Church, Dublin. Decree adjourned." Minute Book of Court of Claims, Hanaper Office, p. 43.

² Sir B. Burke, "Extinct Peerages."

should come?" "Then," said he, "trust neither me, nor yet Lord Roche, nor Lord Barry"—as if theirs was the utmost loyalty known in Munster. The Lords Roches' castle, from the days of the first invasion, crowned a rock in a gorge opening into the valley of the Blackwater; and at the base of the rock flowed a rapid river, running southwards into the Blackwater. From this rocky seat the Lord Roches, no doubt, took their name.

Viscountess Roche defended this castle in 1649; and Cromwell, in his march to Tipperary and Kilkenny, passed it by without caring to assault it. On 26th July, 1650, Lady Roche wrote to Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for relief from taxation for herself and the inhabitants of that poor barony, "from among the relics of those places she held until God should favour her lord and husband with the repossession of them." She signs herself His Excellency's kinswoman, and humble servant.¹ But not only was her lord never to repossess them, but he was to lose what she so loyally defended for him. And dreadful as was her fate, it was almost preferable to his. She was brought before one of those High Courts of Justice (or injustice) set up immediately after the surrender of the Irish in 1652, when they hanged women, for want of men, as victims were required to justify the former fury of the English, who had denounced all the Irish as murderers. There she was tried, condemned, and afterwards hanged, on the evidence of a strumpet, for shooting a man with a pistol, whose name even was unknown to the witness; and though it was ready to be proved that Lady Roche was twenty miles distant from the spot, and that the sight of a pistol was enough to fright her from the room.²

¹ "Carte Papers," vol. xxviii., p. 260.

² "A Continuation of the Brief Narrative, and the Sufferings of the Irish under Cromwell," p. 7. Small 4to. London: 1660. [By Father Peter Walsh.]

Lord Roche was in 1654 dispossessed of his whole estate, having (as his petition sets forth) the charge of four young daughters unpreferred, to whose misery was added the loss of their mother by an unjust and illegal proceeding, for whose innocence he appealed to the best Protestant gentry and nobility of the county of Cork. Thenceforth Lord Roche and his children lived in a most disconsolate condition, destitute of all kind of subsistence (except what alms some good Christians in charity gave them), the consequence of which was, that one of his daughters fell sick and died for want of requisite accommodation either for her cure or diet. After ten months' attendance on those in authority at Dublin, all the succour he got was an order to the Loughrea Commissioners to set him out some lands there *De Bene Esse*.¹ With this order he was necessitated to travel on foot to Connaught, where he spent six months in attendance on the Commissioners at Athlone and Loughrea, and in these attendances and the prosecution ran himself £100 in debt. Yet at the last he had but an assignment of 2500 acres in the Owles in Connaught, and part in the remotest parts of Thomond, all waste and unprofitable; and from these he was evicted before he could receive any manner of profit, by others to whom the Commissioners had disposed of the same by Final Settlements, both before and after.²

With such spectacles daily and hourly before their eyes, it is no wonder that the transplanted who could find means to fly, or were not tied by large families of children, sold their assign-

¹ That, is temporarily, conditionally, for his present habitation and support, and to maintain his cows and other cattle, until he could prove at Athlone the extent of his estate confiscated, and his qualification, i. e. the class of his demerit or delinquency, or amount of want of affection for the Parliament of England.

² "The humble petition of Maurice Lord Viscount Roche, of Fermoy, to the Right Honourable the Lords Justices, March, 1661." Records of the late Auditor-General's Office, Custom House Buildings, vol. xvii., p. 112.

ments for a mere trifle to the officers of government, and fled in horror and aversion from the scene, and embarked for Spain. Some went mad ; as Christopher Eustace, of the county of Kildare,¹ restored to his estate at the King's Restoration, as "mad Eustace" (for though he recovered his estate, he never recovered his wits);² others killed themselves, like Molly Hore, wife of Philip Hore of Kilsallaghan Castle, seven miles north of Dublin, who, on getting the summons to transplant to Connaught, went down to her stable and hanged herself.³ Others lived on, and founded families there in their

¹ $\frac{A}{91}$, p. 32.

² 14th and 15th Chas. II. (A. D. 1662), Art. 8 of the King's Declaration of 30th November, 1660, embodied in the Act.

³ P. 19, "Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica, &c. &c. The Wail of the Irish Catholics; or, the Groans of the whole Clergy and People of the Kingdom of Ireland, in which is truly set forth an Epitome of the unheard of and transcendental Cruelties by which the Catholics of the Kingdom of Ireland are oppressed by the godless English under the Arch-tyrant Cromwell, the Usurper and Destroyer of the Three Realms of England, Ireland, and Scotland. By Friar Maurice Morison, of the Minors of Strict Observance; Lecturer in Theology; an Eye-witness of those Cruelties." Innsbruck. Printed by Michael Wagner : A. D. 1659. 12mo.

In the month of January, 1852, I went to see the lands of Kilsallaghan, lying near Saint Margaret's, seven miles north of Dublin, preparatory to bringing them to sale in the Incumbered Estates Court for the arrears of jointure of a kinswoman. It was church-time when I got there ; and while waiting in a farmer's house till the service was over, as the church was on the lands attached to the ruined castle of Kilsallaghan, I asked the farmer's daughter if she knew who dwelt in the castle in old times, knowing very well that it had belonged to the Hores. She was quite aware of it ; and on my asking if there was anything bearing the name of the family in the neighbourhood, she said there was Molly Hore's Cross up the road a bit. I was getting ready my note book to copy the inscription, when she informed me that it wasn't a stone cross, but a cross of the roads so named. I asked how it got the name ? She said, "When the orders came from Cromwell to put the people out, Molly Hore couldn't stand it, and she went into a stable they had down there, and hanged herself ;" and they buried her, of course by the crowner's 'quest law, as a suicide, at the cross roads.

Final Settlements which subsist to this day, like some of the Talbots and the Cheevers, and some laid their bones in Connaught, whose heirs get restored after the Restoration of the monarchy,—as Lord Trimleston, on whose gravestone, within the ruins of the Abbey of Kilconnel, hard by the fatal field of Aughrim, may be still read the epitaph : “Here lies Matthew, Twelfth Lord Baron of Trimleston, one of the Transplanted.”

A TRANSPLANTER'S GRAVE.



[From a Photograph taken A. D. 1865, by the Rev. H. E. MORIEL, Rector of Kilconnell.]

MURAL TABLET above the Grave of Mathyas Barnewall, twelfth Lord Baron Trimlestown, in "The Strangers' Room," in the ruined Abbey of Kilconnell, in the County of Galway.

CHAPTER IV.

THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS.

THE CIVIL SURVEY.

THE officers of the army (for the common soldiers had no voice in the matter) had now obtained their desires. The army, consisting of about 35,000 men, were to have their arrears satisfied in land at the Act rates—that is, to have 1000 acres plantation measure (equal to 1600 English measure) in Leinster, for every £600 of arrears—a like quantity in Munster for £450 of arrears,—a like quantity in Ulster for £300 arrears; being at the rate of twelve shillings for the acre, plantation measure, in Leinster, eight shillings in Munster, and four shillings in Ulster.

THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF ARREARS, AND THE ORDER OF THEIR SATISFACTION.

The first to be satisfied were the arrears of the present army (26th Sept. 1653), and of those who had been of it, for their service in Ireland since 5th June, 1649.¹ For it was on 5th June, 1649, that the Council of State gave orders for Flemish ships to transport the horse into Ireland, and for the regiments to march to Chester and the other ports, and not to be above one night in a place.² This was, accordingly,

¹ *Act for Satisfaction of the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, and of the Arrears due to the Soldiery there, and of other publique Debts, sect. 21; passed 26th September, 1653.*

² "Memorials of English Affairs, from the Reign of Charles I. to Charles II. his Restoration" p. 391. Folio. London: 1732. [By Sir J. Bulstrode Whitlock.]

the day that Cromwell's army began its march for the reduction of Ireland.

The 22,000 English soldiers brought over by Cromwell were joined on their landing by the garrison of Dublin under Colonel Michael Jones, and of Derry, under Sir Charles Coote and Colonel Monk, the only places that then held for the Parliament. Their service together from their first victory at Drogheda to the fall of Galway, in 1652, with their arrears to the day they should be disbanded, were to be first paid. They were to share the ten counties with the Adventurers, and any balance remaining was a charge on the whole security allotted to the army.

Arrears for service before 5th of June, 1649, in England, were next to be satisfied, shortly called "English arrears;" then any arrears of men who had served in Ireland before that date.¹ The services of the English part of this army, before coming to Ireland, were the conquest of both King and Parliament. They had fought the King from Edgehill to the fatal field of Naseby—a defeat that forced the King to fly (A.D. 1645), from Oxford, to take refuge with his countrymen, the Scotch, who basely sold him for £200,000 to the Parliament. The Parliament, having conquered the King, wished to get rid of the army. They were afraid of its "Anti-Parliament," with the Council of Officers, to assist the general, like a House of Peers, and another of agitators, mostly corporals and sergeants elected by the common men, as it were a House of Commons. The Parliament, therefore (A.D. 1647), ordered the army to Ireland, and "Resolved" that such regiments as should refuse to engage in that service should be disbanded. Instead, they marched against the Parliament, encamped at Blackheath, made the House of Commons erase

¹ Act of Satisfaction of 26th September, 1653.

their resolution from the journals, purged the house to fit it to condemn the King, and, by his execution, made Cromwell and the army supreme.¹

This class received, in addition to their other security, the county of Mayo, which was taken from the transplanted Irish for this purpose, and given up altogether to English arrears. Two-thirds had been already set out to them, and was tenanted for the most part with English inhabitants ; when, on 24th of June, 1656, the Loughrea Commissioners were ordered to allow no Irish to sit down there either as proprietors or tenants to the Commonwealth, to the end it should be planted with such as were Protestants, or of the English nation.²

Next came arrears for service in Ireland before the 5th of June, 1649, shortly called "Forty-nine arrears."³ But of 'Forty-nine arrears there were two very different classes, Colonel Jones's, Sir Charles Coote's, and Colonel Monk's men already mentioned was one class. They had seen eight years' warfare in Ireland before Cromwell arrived. Sir Charles Coote had ravaged Connaught from 1645 to 1648, with fire and sword, regardless of the Cessation and the King's commands. Colonel Michael Jones, by his doings at Dungan's Hill (A. D. 1647), had almost anticipated the term, "Drogheda Quarter," and revived that of "the Pardon of Minooth,"⁴ though it was not "upon second thoughts" (after

¹ Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," book x.

² *A 18*, p. 123.

³ The officers and men were also called the "Old Protestants." "Lord Broghill, coming in July [A. D. 1650], to the camp, whilst Ireton lay before Catherloagh, was welcomed thither by the old Protestants (so they called the troops that had served against the Irish before Cromwell came over) with three huzzas." "Life of Ormonde," p. 134. By T. Carte. 2 vols. Folio. London.

⁴ In November, 1649, the Irish under Inchiquin laid siege to Carrick-on-Suir, then held by Commissary-General John Reynolds, and used to cry at the

first receiving them to quarter like Cromwell at Drogheda),¹ that he cut to pieces 3000 of General Preston's men, who, being deserted by their own cavalry, retreated to a bog, threw down their arms, were surrounded, and coolly slaughtered to a man;² nor were there at Dungan's-hill screaming ladies, girls and boys, women and children, and unarmed and unresisting citizens, massacred as at Drogheda, to the glory of God and the interest of England.³ These men, it was conceived, were fittest to be first disbanded and set down as being

walls to the besieged that they would soon give them "Tredagh (i.e. Drogheda) Quarter." Lord Leonard Grey, in the time of Henry VIII., having taken Maynooth Castle, which surrendered in hope of pardon, he hanged the whole garrison. Hence, the Irish saying, "the pardon of Minooth." "Dismal Effects of the Irish Insurrection," &c., to which are added Letters from Oliver Cromwell, Ireton, Preston, and many others, relating to the sieges, battles, and remarkable passages in the following history, never before printed, taken from the original MSS. of Mr. Cliffe, an intimate of Cromwell's, and Secretary to General Ireton. Appendix, p. 9. Folio. Dublin: Oliver Nelson and Charles Connor, at the Pope's Head, near Essex-gate, 1743.

¹ 9th September, 1649, Cromwell storms Drogheda and puts all to the sword, "not sparing those upon *second thoughts* to whom, in the heat of action, some of his under officers promised and gave quarter." *Ibid.*, p. 282. "The Dismal Effects," &c., is only an Irish Edition of Borlase's "Execrable Irish Rebellion," published in 1680, with the appendix of Cliffe's MSS. Dr. Henry Jones, Bishop of Meath, aided him with his Collections (Preface, p. xvi.). The bishop had been Scout Master General to Cromwell, and was employed to compile a narrative of the rebellion. "Ordered, &c., to Dr. Henry Jones, the sum of £85 for a quarter's salary, due unto himself, together with the allowance for a clerk, for compiling a narrative of the late bloody rebellion in this nation. Dublin, 33 Sept., 1656. "Treasury Warrants," p. 9.

² An exact relation of the great victory obtained against the rebels at Dungan's-hill, August 8th, 1647, by H. M.'s forces under the command of Michael Jones. 4to. London: 1647.

³ "I wish that all honest hearts may give the glory of this to God alone, to whom, indeed, the praise of this mercy belongs." Cromwell to the Honble. John Bradshaw, President of the Council of State. "O. Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," by Thos. Carlyle, vol. i., p. 457. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1845.

longest in the Parliament's service, having most interest in Ireland, and most considerable arrears due before 5th of June, 1649.¹ Besides it would be a succour and encouragement to English to come over and plant, to have those that had seen such service in arms to plant amongst them.² They were, accordingly, to receive their arrears in the baronies of Maghera-Stephana and Clanowly, in the county of Fermanagh, lying along the southern shore of Lough Erne, as closing the pass against any junction of the Irish of Connaught and Ulster; in the barony of Ardee, in the county of Louth, one of the gates into the English Pale; and in the baronies of Condons, Fermoy, Duhallo and Orrery in Cork, comprising the range of mountain that stretches in a right line from west to east of the county, from Fermoy to Kanturk, with the River Blackwater running along its southern base. This was a position intended apparently to bar all junction between the Cork and Limerick Irish, as the assigning them further the rugged baronies of Kinalea, Carberry, and Kilmore, southward and westward from the city of Cork, was to guard the coast.³

This body of 'Forty-nine men had just sat down in their lots when the army was called upon to provide lands for another class of those that had also served in Ireland before 5th June, 1649, viz. the old Protestant army of Munster. These were the garrisons of Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, and Bandon, and their dependencies, that held for the King at Cromwell's landing. They had been under Lord Inchiquin's command since 1642, and revolted with him from the King's service to the Parliament's in 1644, and back again to the King's in 1648.

¹ "Letter of the Council Board, 22 July, 1653." ^A ₉₀, p. 517.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Act of Satisfaction, 26 September, 1653," c. xii, sec. 5. "Seobell's Acts and Ordinances."

For Inchiquin deemed a commonwealth of Saints, which he foresaw to be now impending, unfit for a gentleman to live in. On the 3rd of April, 1648, he was at Mallow, and having previously secured the adhesion of the main body of his officers, he sent for some surly Parliamentarians into the presence chamber of the castle there, and told them that the Parliament were forced by the Independents' faction to break the National Covenant and their oath, which required his Majesty to be secured in his throne. He then said "he hoped to see this pretended Parliament on the flat of their backs before Michaelmas day." He would join, he said, with Lord Taaffe and the Irish for the King, and asked those officers he had sent for, to join with him ; and he addressed the rest next morning on parade.¹ To a few, all followed him ; and when Ormond returned to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, in September, 1648, Inchiquin received him into Cork. But Cromwell's arrival in 1649, altered all things. The garrison of Cork, on 23rd October, 1649, revolted to Cromwell. They declared² that the question was no longer between King and Parliament, but a national quarrel, meaning that the English had resolved to seize for themselves and their families the homes and lands of the inhabitants of Ireland, and that the relics of the nation should thenceforth for ever be the serfs or inferiors of the English in the land of their birth. The other garrisons followed the dance that Cork had begun, and revolted to Crom-

¹ Declaration for the information of Parliament, subscribed, "Christopher Elsynge, J. Grey, Thomas Chandler, Alexander Barrington, Thomas Davis. Dated this 7th April, 1647, aboard the Bonaventure, in Kinsale harbour." "Carte Papers," lxvii. 151.

² "The Remonstrance and Resolutions of the Protestant Army of Munster now in Corke. Dated 23 October, 1649." Signed, "Richard Townsende, Colonel, John Hodder, Colonel, Jo: Broderick, Captain, and 35 other Officers." Broadside, London. Printed, 1649.

well before 1st December, 1649. But this alone would not have availed them. Their temporary revolt from the Parliament made them transplantable; for it barred their claim to Constant Good Affection. On 27th June, 1654, however, there was an Act passed, at the instance of the Lord Protector, for their indemnity. And such officers and soldiers as could show themselves active in the rendition of these Munster garrisons were to have lands for their arrears since 1644, as if they had never swerved from the interest of the Parliament.¹

This body of 'Forty-nine men were to have equal satisfaction with the others,'² and the army sullenly gave up to them the three counties of Donegal, Longford, and Wicklow,³ being the worst they had; and the Lord Protector added Leitrim, in Connaught, taken from the transplanted, and so much of the mile line, or belt round Connaught, as remained undisposed of. It was each of these men's aim now to prove that he and his comrades had been active in the revolt. Thus, Lieut.-Colonel John Widnam, of the garrison of Youghal, proved before Commissioners how he invited a party of cavalry under Colonel Giffard and Colonel Warden, from the revolted garrison of Cork, to secure Youghal, and met them and escorted them to the gate of the town; and how the Governor, Sir Piercy Smith, having drawn the chain of the iron gate to bar their entry, Colonel Widnam called to Ensign Richard Dashwood, and Town-Major John Smith, who were within, to seize the Governor, and open the gate, which they did, and so Youghal was rendered up to the Parliament.⁴ And Colonel

¹ "Indemnity of the English Protestants of the Province of Munster." Passed June 27, 1654. Scobell's "Acts and Ordinances."

² "Petty's Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 74.

³ Ibid., p. 74, p. 86.

⁴ "Examination of Ensigne Michael Munckton, English Protestant, now resident of Ballingarry, in the county of Limerick, and at the securing of

Widnam, who received Castletown Roche, the ancient seat of Lord Roche, as part of his arrears, kept it after the Restoration, notwithstanding his treason.¹ For, though the Act of Settlement pretended to exclude the betrayers of the Munster garrisons, yet they were to be allowed to retain their debenture lands if they should prove they made some repair for their former faults by their timely and seasonable appearance for the King's restoration.² The only fault that could never be repaired or pardoned was to be an Irishman pretending to some portion of his native soil or birthright, possessed or coveted by an Englishman. Consequently, Colonel Widnam, the betrayer of Youghal, could securely look down from the towers of Castletown Roche, where Lord Roche's ancestors had for ages fixed themselves, and behold the ancient owner, descended of a long line of loyal forefathers, and his orphan daughters, wandering in beggary and slavery below. This section of the Forty-nine men had not received their allotments at the time of the Restoration, owing to the late period of taking their examinations, and the delay in stating their accounts. On the King's return, the Royalist officers who had served under Ormond before the 5th June, 1649, and had got their lives but no lands from Cromwell, claimed a share in the 'Forty-nine security, and had the benefit

Youghal both first and second times for the Parliament of England, and for the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in October and November, 1649, then an Ensigne in the said towne. February 19th, 1654." Before Commissioners appointed by virtue of the Act for the Indemnity of the Protestants of Munster. "Carte Papers," vol. lxvi., 239.

¹ "Lieut.-Colonel John Widenham, Castletown [Roche] *alias* Ballytona, barony of Fermoy, and county of Cork; 1627 A. (1635 A. 1 R. 35 P. stat. measure). Patent dated 31st July, 1666. (Enrolled 20th August, 1666.) "Abstracts of Grants of Lands, &c., under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation," p. 75. "15th Report of Irish Record Commissioners," 1820 to 1825. Folio.

² 14th and 15th Chas. II. (Irish), chap. ii., sect. 194.

of it confirmed to Commissioned officers, to the exclusion of the common men."¹

Great jealousies thence ensued between these disappointed private soldiers and those of Coote's and Monk's brigade, who had been set down in 1653.

" This caused the Forty-nine for to suspect
The Fifty-three, as though through their neglect
They were not satisfied with them . . . "

said a Cromwellian rhymer (himself one of the disappointed, as appears by his title page). He adds,

" And I believe nothing hath drawn a curse
On English new Int'rests, or provèd worse,
Than that the 'Forty-nine had no arrears
Who servèd faithfully in want Eight years
Against the Common foe :
God grant it prove no rot
To the Estates the officers have got."²

¹ " *The Petition of Martha Hatt, Widow.*

" *4th December, 1663.*

" That your petitioner's husband, Simon Hatt, Esq., deceased, was inlisted in H. M.'s standing army in Ireland many years before the late Rebellion ; that her said husband and your poor petitioner were constant Protestants and loyal subjects ; that her husband served his late Ma^{ie}^{re} under the Command of Robert Lord Dillon, late Earl of Roscommon, from the 23rd October, 1641, until 27 August, 1643 ; that her said husband during his life received not the worth of one *farding* for his services, although it is evidently known that he maintained himself and 4 men well mounted and armed towards the maintaining of his late Majesty's right and interest in this Kingdom against the barbarous Irish Rebels, yet notwithstanding her said husband's good service, his great losses sustained by the late war, to this hour your poor aged petitioner hath never had the least recompence or relief," &c.

She accordingly prayed compensation for her husband's services, " with other H. M.'s Commissioned Officers who served before 5th June, 1649 ;" but, as he had no commission, she could get no relief. " *Carte Papers*, " vol. clix., 74.

² " *The Moderate Cavalier ; or the Soldier's Description of Ireland, and of the Country Disease, with Receipts for the same.*

DEBENTURES.¹

In 1652 and 1653 the officers and soldiers obtained debentures for their arrears from a Board for stating soldiers' accounts, and giving forth debentures, consisting of Mr. Nicholas Domvile, Robert Jeoffries, Thomas Dancer, and five others,² sitting at the new Custom House.³ With the Muster rolls before them,⁴ they heard the claim of each officer and soldier either in person or by attorney, the officers frequently acting for their men, having probably bargained with them in private for their debentures. Captain Peyton Lehunte, for Francis Cheatley, a private soldier of his company, in Colonel Long's regiment, for his service from the 24th of June, 1647, to 5th June, 1649, obtained a debenture from this board for £8 16s. 5d.; and for Francis Cheatley's service in Colonel Trimble's regiment, from 6th June, 1649, to 7th August, 1653, being fifty-one months and fourteen days, another debenture for £16 14s. od.⁵ The officers produced their commissions;

"From Gloucester siege till arms laid down
 In Truro fields, I for the Crown
 Under St. George march'd up and down,
 And then, Sir,
 For Ireland came, and had my share
Of blows, not lands, gained in that warre;
 But God defend me from such fare,
 Again, Sir."

"A Book fit for all Protestants houses in Ireland." [8vo. Printed at Cork, Anno Dom. MDCLXXV.]

¹ See Frontispiece.

² "How Accounts of Officers and Soldiers of the Army of Ireland may be stated." Passed August 25th, 1652. Scobell's "Acts and Ordinances."

³ Order dated 30 November, 1652. ^A ₈₂, p. 457.

⁴ "How Accounts, &c., may be stated." As above.

⁵ "Accounts of Soldiers stated singly. Anno 1654." ^A ₃₉.

COPY OF THE DEBENTURE FORMING THE FRONTISPICE.

*By the Commissioners appointed for Stateing the
Arreares of the Souldiery, And of Publique ffaith
Debts in Ireland.*

UPON Composition and Agreement made with
*Mrs. Ester Hunt, Administratrix to her late
Husband, Captain Thomas Hunt, deceased, in behalfe
of herself, And for the use of Henry, Thomas, Ben-
jamin, Anne, Hester, and Sarah Hunt, Children of the
said Defunct, for all the said Defunct's Arrears for
Service in Ireland from the last day of December, 1469,
to the 5th day of June, 1649, as Captain in a Troope of
Horse in Coll. Chidley Coote's Regiment. There
remains due from the Common-wealth to the said
Ester Hunt and children of the said Defunct, their
Executors, Administrators, or Assign's, the Sum of
Seaven Hundred and fourteene Pounds, seaventeen shil-
lings, and sixpence, which is to be satisfied to the said
Ester Hunt and y^e said Children of y^e Defunct, their
Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, out of the
Rebels Lands, Houses, Tenements and Hereditaments,
in Ireland ; or other Lands, Houses, Tenements, and
Hereditaments there, in the dispose of the Common-
wealth of ENGLAND. Signed and Sealed at DUBLIN,
the six and twentieth day of May, 1658.*

£ . . d.
7 14 17 06

EDW. ROBERTS, (*Seal*).
Examined and entred, ROBERT GORGES, (*Seal*).
THOS. HERBERT, ROBERT JEOFFREYS, (*Seal*).
Gen^l. Register.

To face p. 196.]

and if any had received a debenture in England to be satisfied in money, he might exchange it, and obtain from the Commissioners one to be satisfied in Irish land.¹ The debentures were made in duplicate, one part kept by the Register, the other part given to the soldier,² who was to give it up when satisfied, to be returned to the Register to see that it agreed with the original, to be then cancelled.³ The debenture was a mere acknowledgment of a debt to be satisfied in land,⁴ but it conveyed none, though the land set out for it was familiarly called "a debenture." Thus, in a list of Colonel William Moore's estate, in the barony of Lower Ormond, and county of Tipperary, the lands are described (A. D. 1669), as "lately the debenter of Lieutenant-Colonel William Moore, who had a deep hand in the plot against his Majesty and his interest in Ireland (the Phanatick or Protestant plot of 1663), and is fled for the same."⁵ The title to the debenture land⁶

¹ "How Accounts of Officers and Soldiers of the Army of Ireland may be stated." Passed August 25th, 1652. Scobell's "Acts and Ordinances."

² *Ibid.*

³ "Ordered—That Colonel Robert Phaire, and the rest of the Commissioners for setting out lands to the Disbanded that were appointed to sit down in the county of Cork, do take care that the particulars and the subdivisions of the lands set out by them to the said Disbanded and reduced party be returned forthwith to Benjamin Worsley, Esq.; as also all such debentures as have been received from the said Disbanded upon their assigning them lands for the satisfaction of their arrears, to Colonel Thomas Herbert, the Register-General of Debentures' Office in Dublin. Dated at Castle of Dublin, 19 November, 1655.

^A
⁵, p. 285.

"THOMAS HERBERT, Clerk of the Council."

⁴ See Frontispiece.

⁵ "Carte Papers," vol. xlvi., 190 A.

⁶ "Militibus promissa Triquetra

Prædia Cæsar, Italā an est tellure daturus?"

HORACE, Sat. vi., Book ii.

"Yet prithee where are Cæsar's bands
Allotted their Debenture lands?"

Horace's Works, translated by Dr. Philip Francis, 1748. Dr. Francis' father was Dean of Lismore; hence Dr. Francis' knowledge of Debenture lands, a term that could hardly have been intelligible to an Englishman in 1748.

was not even complete by the allotment, but required a Certificate under the hand of two of the Commissioners for Ireland to give the officer or soldier legal seizin, as appeared in the case of Commissary-General Sir John Reynolds' will, the brother-in-law of the Lord Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy.¹

Sir John Reynolds, after his campaign in Ireland, had the command of the forces sent to Dunkirk to aid Turenne and the French to take Mardyke from the Spaniards, but on his return was lost, in the month of December, 1657, on the Goodwin Sands, as was believed, for nothing was ever found of the ship or crew that conveyed him, but a box with his sword and belt. By his will he left all his lands to his wife, and his personal property to others. It was found that though Carrick Castle, with its demesne and deer park, and 16,000 acres, the ancient seat of the Earls of Ormond, was land in the strict legal sense, because given by Act of Parliament to Sir John Reynolds,² yet that 7272 acres set out to him in the barony of Carbery, and county of Cork, for two debentures, amounting to £3902 13s. od., and the lands he bought of Colonel Fowkes, in the county of Wexford, were personal estate, his interest lying in the debentures, and not in the land, because he wanted the Certificate under the hand of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland, and until then allotments might be altered by the Commander-in-Chief.³ The setting down of

¹ They married two sisters, daughters of Sir Francis Russell, Bart., of Chippenham, in Cambridgeshire. "Memorials of the Protectoral House of Cromwell," by Mark Noble. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1787.

² By order of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland in execution of an Ordinance of Parliament for Settlers in lieu of forfeited lands in Ireland, to the value of £500 per annum. Dated at Clonmel, 20th May, 1652.—A 82, p. 232.

³ See the Case and Opinion of the Lawyers, and Henry Cromwell's letter, 27 January, 1657-8. Thurloe's "State Papers," vol. vi., p. 759, p. 761.

the soldiers, however, by "lot and string"¹ was practically the completion of the work.² No such Certificates or letters of possession were ever issued. There was, by the Act of Satisfaction, more debt charged on the lands of Ireland than half as much more would pay.³ The first instalment of lands set forth was for 12s. 6d. per pound of arrears, or five-eighths of the debt, which the council of the army accepted, hoping, nevertheless, that they might proceed on two-thirds, i. e. 13s. 4d., which they were put in possession of on 22nd May, 1655.⁴ They

¹ In "Rules and Agreements concerning the present Proceedings of setting out Lands to the Army, assented unto by us, the respective Agents of the severall Regiments thereof:—

"1st. That wee receive the proportion of lands according to the *quota pars* of 12s. 3d. in the pound, in part of satisfaction due unto each regiment, together with the loose debentures, as they have been thereunto affixed by the Commissioners for setting out lands, contained in a list or file of contiguitie specifying the content of each townland within the said regimentall lott; and that wee doe alsoe receive therewith lists of debentures belonging or affixed unto each troope and company within the said lott.

" Dated this 8th December, 1656.

" ROB. PHAYRE.

JO. NELSON.

DAN. ABBOTT.

WM. MEREDITH.

" HEN. JOHNSON."

Petty's "Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 197.

In "The humble Declaration and Petition of the Committee of Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, sitting at Grocers' Hall."

"9thly. Your petitioners desire that the county of Kildare may be sett out unto them by lott and string."—*Ibid.* p. 246.

²

" Monday, 10th December, 1666.

" The three regiments claym for lands in the county of Kerry, sett out to them in satisfaction for their arrears The claymants produce a string whereby the lands were sett out Mr. Petty swears that the paper signed was the original, written by himself and Sir W. Petty—that these strings had as much force as injunctions—that they took possession under them." Minute Book of Court of Claims, p. 3. Hanaper Office.

³ Petty's "Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 72.

still pressed for plenary satisfaction. Until they had it, they said, it would not be secure for the army to deliver up their debentures.¹ They would give receipts to the Commissioners of Ireland for so much as was set out, and allow the part satisfaction to be endorsed on the debentures, but the debentures to remain in the soldiers' hands.² The Lord Deputy and Council bade them say how they would secure as equal provision with themselves for their poor brethren who served before '49, and were disbanded in 1653, who had received their lands at enhanced rates, if the government should yield to their request and part with the entire stock, and for the 'Forty-nine soldiers of the Munster garrison who were not indemnified till 1654, and were not yet satisfied, and might find the counties of Donegal, Leitrim, Longford, and Wicklow, short to satisfy them their arrears.³ In 1656, the army having given the required engagement, the Lord Deputy and Council, on 20th May, 1656, gave them plenary satisfaction, by giving out to their trustees for distribution all the land that remained.⁴ When these were divided, and the officers and soldiers set down the following year, it only remained for the government to give out certificates or letters of possession, and to receive in the debentures.⁵ The army, however, forbore taking out Certificates of possession, expecting that the Adventurers would be found on a resurvey of their lands by Petty, then pending, to have received too much, and as the surplus belonged to the army, there would be further lands to divide. But the Restoration over-

¹ "Petty's Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 72.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 201, 204.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵ By order of 9th April, 1657, a Committee, consisting of Sir Charles Coote, Sir Hardress Waller, Mr. Attorney-General Basil, and others, were to suggest a form of certificate (*ibid.*, p. 206). The form they suggested is given (*ibid.*, pp. 206, 207).

took them, so that the debentures, except some that were taken in upon some of the early assignments of lands, remained in the hands of the officers and soldiers.

Of 33,419 debentures issued, 11,804 were returned, and no more; so that the soldiery or their representatives held 21,615 in their hands, though lands had been long before given out in satisfaction.¹

THE CIVIL SURVEY.

The next step of the government was to take an account of what lands were forfeited, their extent and value. It was about Michaelmas Day, 1653, that the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland received the instructions of the Parliament for the survey of the lands forfeited on account of the rebellion. Commissioners were immediately sent into every county in the three provinces, to take an account of the lands in the disposal of the government, which included not merely the lands forfeited by the Irish, but the Church and Crown lands.² They were to hold courts of survey, and to summon juries, and charge them, if necessary, to view and tread the metes and bounds of the premises; and the Commissioners were to summon and examine on oath all persons who could give evidence of the names of the late proprietor, of his conduct, and of the extent and value of his estate. Agents were to produce the rentals, and bailiffs to show the bounds; and where they should find it impossible through the wastedness and depopulation of the county to inform themselves of the metes and bounds, and other certainties directed, they were to discover it as best they could.³ It must have been painful to the owners of these estates

¹ "Touching Souldiers Debentures." "Carte Papers," vol. xliv., 155.

² $\frac{A}{90}$, p. 544.

³ See a commission at full length in "Petty's History of the Down Survey," by Major T. A. Larcom, R. E., pp. 383-386. 4to. Dublin: 1851. Published for the Irish Archaeological Society.

and their families to see them valued before they had actually passed out of their hands, being only a preparation for their banishment, and for others to occupy their ancient hereditary seats, endeared to them by a thousand tender memories. But the Commissioners were enabled, by taking this inquiry before the proprietors were removed to Connaught, to obtain evidence not forthcoming two years later, when the Down Survey was executed, there being then in many places no persons remaining that knew the bounds, and families were obliged to be sent back from Connaught to show them to the surveyors.¹

The purpose was to ascertain by the report of these Commissioners what was the amount of the fund applicable to the payment of the debt due to the Adventurers and to the army, and of the extent and value of the tithes and lands reserved to the state ; so that the government might afterwards be enabled to contract with skilled surveyors for an exact admeasurement and maps of the lands, in order to a proper allotment of the army's lands amongst the officers and soldiers, and that grants and leases might be made with greater ease and secu-

¹ "Whereas Mr. Henry Paris, late one of the Commissioners of Revenue of Clonmel, hath informed us that the transplantation hath been so effectually carried on in the county of Tipperary, and especially in the barony of Eliogarty, that no inhabitant of the Irish nation that knows the country is left in that barony, which may be a great prejudice to the Commonwealth, for want of information of the bounds of the respective territories and lands therein upon admeasurement ; it is therefore ordered, that it be referred to the Commissioners at Loughrea to consider of four fitt and knowing persons of the Irish nation lately removed out of that barony into Connaught, and to return them with their families to reside in or near their old habitations, for the due information of the surveyors appointed of the respective bounds of each parcel of land admeasurable, and to continue there till further order.

"THOS. HERBERT, Clerk of the Council.

"*Dublin, 20th December, 1654.*" A
5, p. 54.

rity by the government of the lands reserved to them, and that the assessments might be equally levied. This report was duly returned for all Ireland, and was called the Civil Survey.¹

Having thus ascertained, by as near a computation as could be made without actual admeasurement, the extent and value of the lands seized from the former proprietors in each of the three provinces on this side of the Shannon, a general council of officers next apportioned the amount of arrears to be satisfied in each province. They then proceeded, like the Adventurers, to draw the first or grand lot, to ascertain in which province each regiment of horse, foot, and dragoons was to be satisfied its arrears. For on debate of the matter whether they should take their lands by lot, or have them assigned to them respectively by some competent authority, they resolved for the former mode, declaring that they had rather take a lot upon a barren mountain as a portion from the Lord, than a portion in the most fruitful valley upon their own choice.²

But when the officers in the Munster lot found that all the coarse mountain land in the baronies of Iveragh and Dunkerrin, in the county of Kerry (the neighbourhood of the Lakes of Killarney), considered by them "the refuse county,"³ of Ireland, which they expected to have thrown in to them *gratis* as unprofitable, was counted as profitable (though ten, twenty, and thirty acres of it were sometimes counted for one),⁴ they called a meeting with the agents of the Leinster and Ulster

¹ For a specimen, see "A Survey of the Half Barony of Rathdown, in the County of Dublin, containing the parishes following, viz., Donnebrook, Tannee, Kill, Monkstown, Killinny, Tully, White Church, Killternan, Killgobbin, Rathmichael, and Connagh. By order of Charles Fleetwood, Lord Deputy, October 4th, 1654," p. 528. "2nd Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica; or, a Select Collection of State Papers," &c. 8vo. Dublin. 2 vols. 1772.

² "Petty's Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 91.

³ Ibid., p. 210.

⁴ Ibid., p. 96.

regiments, and proposed to get rid of them. They wished to take the baronies of Gualtier and Middlethird, in the county of Waterford, instead.¹ The Leinster and Ulster agents, however, said, if the Munster officers were allowed to pick and choose, they desired the same privilege for Leinster and Ulster, and that Upper Ossory, and the Duffry, in the county of Wexford, in Leinster, Orier, the Fews, and Cremorne, in Ulster, be laid aside; and, with a spice of humour, fixed them with their two coarse baronies, by reminding them of the pious intent upon which they had agreed to the lottery.²

THE DOWN SURVEY.

The officers of the army next agreed with the government to join them in contracting with Dr. William Petty, Physician to the Forces, to make accurate maps of the forfeited lands belonging respectively to the government and to the army, in the three several provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Ulster. Connaught was assigned to the Irish; and good maps of most of the lands in that province had been made about fifteen years before, by order of Lord Strafford, when he intended the English plantation there, by which the government were enabled to set down the transplanted Irish there the more readily. It was characteristic of the period, that this great step in perfecting the scheme of plantation was consecrated with all the forms of religion, the articles being signed by Dr. Petty in the Council Chamber of Dublin Castle, on the 11th of December, 1654, in the presence of many of the chief officers of the army, after a solemn seeking of God, performed by Colonel Tomlinson, for a blessing upon the conclusion of so great a business.³ Such is the account given by Dr. Petty, this able man being himself

¹ "Petty's Down Survey," pp. 89, 90.

² Ibid., p. 91.

³ Ibid., p. 22.

all the while a freethinker, who was indifferent to the wrangles and jangles of the Churches,¹ and laughed at the many different sects of that day, considering sects to be like worms and maggots in the guts of a commonwealth.² He was also of opinion that the gathering of churches might be termed, "listing of soldiers."³

By his contract, Dr. Petty engaged to mark out upon the map the subdivision of the lands into so many parcels as might satisfy each man his particular arrears, thus showing each officer's and soldier's particular lot,⁴ with an index of their names and position on the map. But this provision was afterwards dispensed with, as the army were not ready to subdivide at the time of the survey being taken, and the subdivisions were only returned by the officers in descriptive lists to the Chancery. These being sent at the Restoration to the Commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement, they remained amongst the documents they had had recourse to, and were destroyed in a great fire that burned down the Council Office, where they were then deposited, in the year 1711—an irreparable loss. Had they been marked in the Down Survey, there would have been seen regiment by regiment, troop by troop, and company by company, encamping almost on the lands they had conquered; for they were thus set down without intervals, and without picking or choosing, the lot of the first regiment ending where the lot of the second regiment began.⁵

The field work of the survey was carried on by foot soldiers instructed by Dr. Petty, and selected by him as being hardy

¹ "Reflections on some Persons and Things in Ireland," p. 86. 12mo. London: 1660.

² Ibid., p. 110.

³ Ibid., p. 82.

⁴ "Articles of Agreement between the Surveyor-General and Dr. W. Petty," dated 11th December, 1654, Article 8. "Petty's Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 25.

⁵ Order of 22nd May, 1655. Ibid., p. 64.

men, to whom such hardships as to wade through bogs and water, climb rocks, and fare and lodge hard, were familiar.¹ They were fittest, too, "to ruffle with" the rude spirits they were like to encounter, who might not see without a grudge their ancient inheritances, the only support of their wives and children, measured out before their eyes for strangers to occupy ; and they must often when at work be in danger of a surprise by Tories. Some of the surveyors were captured by these bold and desperate outlaws, when the sending away of the forces for England and Scotland, about the beginning of the work, left him naked of the guards he had been promised.² Eight of them were surprised by Donogh O'Derrick, commonly called "blind Donogh" (who, however, could see well enough for this purpose), near Timolinn, in the county of Kildare, and were by him and his party carried up the mountains of Wicklow into the woods, and there after a drum-head kind of court martial, executed by them as accessories to a gigantic scheme of ruthless robbery.³

THE BOXING OF THE ARMY FOR LANDS.

Sir William Petty says, that as for the blood shed in the contest for these lands, God best knows who did occasion it ; but upon the playing of the game or match the English won,

¹ "Articles of Agreement," &c., as before, p. 17.

² Ibid., pp. 123, 125.

³ "Ordered, that Mr. James Standish, Receiver-General, do pay unto Col. Henry Pretty, Governor of Carlow, £100, to be by him disposed of to such persons as lately took Donogh Doyle or Derrig, *alias* called blind Donogh (the notorious Tory, Rebel, and Thief), at Timolinn, in the house whence he and his party took the Eight English Surveyors, who were thence carried into the woods, and most barbarously murdered. Dated at Dublin Castle, December 25th, 1655.

"HENRY CROMWELL. RICHARD PEPYS. MILES CORBET."

^A
₁, p. 325.

and had, among other pretences, a gamester's right at least to their estates;¹ and like gamesters they proceeded to divide the spoil. The lands they had won were to be set out to the army by lot, and were to be so assigned to the different regiments in the several provinces, that the lands might be set out together without intervals, and without picking and choosing. Accordingly, it was ordered that the several regiments whose lots had fallen in any of the three provinces should be put into possession of their lands successively one after another, each regiment beginning to take their possession from the bounds of such places where the lots of the respective regiments preceding respectively ended.² The agents of the different regiments in each provincial lot were to agree what barony in each of the several counties should be first set out unto them, and what regiment or troop should be first set down in each barony and county, and so successively in the next adjacent barony or county.³ The regiments in each provincial lot cast lots to ascertain in what county and baronies each regiment should be satisfied. A lot or ticket was then made for every troop or company, containing the names of the several officers and soldiers of the troop or company, the arrears due to each, and the number of acres due to the entire troop or company.⁴ These lots or tickets were pre-

¹ "The Political Anatomy of Ireland," 1672, by Sir W. Petty, p. 28, 1st vol. "Tracts and Treatises relating to Ireland," by Alexander Thom and Sons.

² 2 vols. 8vo. Dublin: 1861.

³ Pp. 64, 65, "Petty's Down Survey," by Major Thomas A. Larcom, Irish Archaeological Society's Publication. 4to. Dublin: 1851.

⁴ Order of 22 May, 1655, *ibid.*, p. 65.

"Ordered, that the officers of the army now at head quarters do consider how the lotts of the party now to be disbanded may be drawn most equally.

20th August, 1655." ^A
₅, p. 223.

"Ordered, that the Surveyor-General do prepare lotts for each regiment, and for each company and troope of each regiment, inserting the name of each

pared on papers of equal size, and sealed with wax wafers or glue, so as one might not be distinguished from the other without opening them. They were then to be put in a box,¹ out of which they were to be drawn as lots, to distinguish in which of the baronies the proportion of land due to each company was to fall.

The lands in the several baronies having been already arranged by the Surveyor-General in a fixed sequence, called a file or string of contiguity,² specifying the contents of each

regiment, troope, and company in the lotts, that the troopes and companies may know who are to begin, and in what manner they are to proceed successively to take their satisfaction." Ib., p. 224.

¹ Hence the term boxing in common use in that day: thus, "Waste lands and undisposed of may be lett to any English well affected, not exceeding three years, without putting y^e same to y^e box, rendering such reasonable rent, &c.

Dated at Cork, 7th of July, 1652.

"MILES CORBETT. JOHN JONES."

Order Book of Council, vol. vii., Landed Estates Record Office.

* "THE STRING OF ENSIGN THOMAS HIS LOTT.

Com. Meath—Bar. Kells.

PARISH OF DUNLANE.

Proprietors [Anno 1641].	Denominations.	Acres Profitable.		
		A.	R.	P.
Thomas Betagh,	Part of Laturencetowne,	188	2	0
Garrett Mappe,	Maprath,	254	0	0
Idem,	The Mote,	128	0	0
	Corn sasse,	192	0	0
	Curragh and Clonfenane,	363	0	0
Plunkett, of Castle,	Rathbrake,	242	2	0
Garrett Mappe,	Mountainpole,	176	2	0

KELLS PARISH.

Rochfort, of Kilbride,	Part of Kells.			
	In y ^e same, with Common,	56	2	0
	Part of Kells,	611	2	0
	Within the Walls of the Towne of Kells,	29	2	0
	Part of Mulaghey, intermixt with small pcells,	166	2	0

townland within the regimental lot with the lists of the debentures belonging to each troop or company,¹ the Commiss-

Proprietors [Anno 1641.]	Denominations.	Acres Profitable.
		A. R. P.
Sir John Dungan, Knt.	Norbynstowne,	138 0 0

PARISH OF EMLAGH.

William Betagh,	Ballreasea,	151 2 0
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KELLS PARISH.

Plunkett, of Balrath,	Tatrath,	533 0 0
Barnewall, of Turvey,	Sydensrath,	211 2 0
James f. Jones,	Fyanstowne.	

PARISH OF TELLTOWNE.

S ^r . William Hill,	Hursltowne.	
Richard Barnewall,		
Richard Ledwiche,		
Robert Begg, and	Kilmainham,	1039 2 0
Barnewall, of Breymore,		

PARISH OF KELLS.

Richard Barnewall,		
Christopher Plunkett,	Part of Kilmainham,	138 0 0
Richard Ledwiche,		
Rob ^t Begg, of Featherstowne,	Garden rath,	149 2 0
Begg, of Navan, and		
Barnewall, of Breymore,		
Sir John Draycott,	Phebog,	29 0 0

Total, 5072A. 2R. 0O.P., at 11s. 7d² acre. £2789 16s. 1d.

"The aforementioned lands were sett forth unto Lieut.-Colonell Stephens and his Company, in satisfaction of their arrears.

"THOMAS ELLIOTT,

"Dep^r Surveyor-Gen^r.

"April 6, 1666."

In this String (properly the String of Lieut.-Colonel Stephens and his company, for the endorsement is by a later hand), are the lands of Kilmainham conveyed by the following Deed:—

¹ Petty's "Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 197.

sioners for setting out the lands to the particular regiment proceeded on the day appointed to the place of drawing, generally some town nearest to the chief baronies, and there in the presence of the officers and soldiers of the regiment drew the lots for the first barony. They were directed to draw out only one lot at once, and, opening it, to read it aloud in the hearing of all persons present, and then to file the lot on the file of that barony, entering the same in their record, fairly and distinctly, before another lot was drawn; and so to proceed, lot by lot, until as many lots were drawn as contained all the number of acres in the barony in the disposal of the Commonwealth, according to the survey,¹ with a copy of which they came provided. As soon as the lot was drawn, all persons into whose shares the barony fell were to deliver up their debentures upon the spot, in order that they might be cancelled; but each man was to receive in exchange a certificate, stating the fact of the debenture having been delivered up, and declaring the amount of arrears

"To All, &c., I Arnoald Thomas, of Thurles, in the county of Tipperary, send Greeting. Whereas, the Town and Lands of Kilmainham, in the county of East Meath, and barony of Kells, was laid out for me for arrears of pay for service in Ireland as Ensign of Foote in Lieut.-Colonel Richard Stephens's Company, and for other private Souldiers who served in the said Company, whose interest I have purchased, Know Ye, that In consideration of £200 to me paid by George Mathews, of Reaghill, in the county of Tipperary, Esq., I have bargained and sold to the said George Mathews All the said lands of Kilmainham, aforesaid, containing 699 acres plantation measure, beside cast-in land, To Have and to Hold to him, the said George Mathews, his heirs and assigns for ever. In witness, &c. 16 of February, 1654. ARNOA : THOMAS.

"Witnesses, &c., DANIEL RYAN. WM. BURGATE."

In the chapter entitled, "Sales of Debentures by the Soldiers to their Officers," p. 222, will be found in the notes the conveyance made by thirty-six soldiers of Lieut.-Colonel Stephens's company to Ensign Thomas.

¹ The Civil Survey.

in the debenture, and the number of acres to be set out in the barony to satisfy it.¹

Thus Lord Broghill, Colonel Phaire, and others, were appointed Commissioners, on 10th January, 1654, to set out lands in the baronies of Fermoy, Duhallo, Condon, Orrery, and other baronies in the county of Cork, to satisfy arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the regiments, troops, and companies named in a schedule annexed to the commission, amounting to £60,611 8s. 6d., which required 75,735 acres, 2 roods, to satisfy them—lands in the county of Cork being rated by the army, as between themselves, at £800 per thousand acres. The Commissioners were to fix a time and place for drawing lots, of which they were to give seven days' previous notice at least, in Cork, Mallow, Youghal, and Bandon. They were directed by the commission to begin to draw out the lots for the barony of Fermoy, and so lot by lot, until all the land in the barony was exhausted; and if the number of acres in the lots drawn for any barony should exceed the amount of land in the barony, the defect was to be supplied out of the adjacent barony—the particular parish or townland where to begin the supply having been appointed before drawing the first lots, in order to avoid controversy or imputation. The officers and soldiers who fell to be satisfied in any one barony or allotment were immediately to take possession; and, having subdivided it between them, were to send up the subdivision, with each man's lot described by such bounds and other certainties as it could be known to the Commissioners of Revenue of the precinct.² Upon getting

¹ The proceedings thus described are set out in "A Commission for y^e Setting out Lands in y^e County of Corke to y^e Disbanded Forces in lieu of their Arrears. Dated at Dublin, y^e 10th day of January, 1653-4." ^A ₈₁, p. 31.

² "A Commission for y^e setting out Lands in y^e County of Corke to the Disbanded Forces in lieu of their Arrears." ^A ₈₁, p. 31.

possession, the half-pay of the officers and soldiers ceased. But, in addition to the original list of those to be satisfied by the Commissioners, additional lists were constantly sent down of soldiers whom they were to admit to receive their satisfaction as if they had been in the original lists.¹

OF THE EQUALIZING OF COUNTIES AND BARONIES.

The state gave all the forfeited lands to the army at the Adventurers' or Act Rates; but the several regiments composing each provincial lot were unwilling to cast the regimental lots, or lots to ascertain in what counties and baronies within the province the several regiments were to be satisfied their arrears, without some regard to the value of lands. They thought it too desperate a hazard for a regiment to cast

¹ "A list of several persons of Captain Lewis Jones's troop of horse that desire satisfaction for their arrears in the county of Sligo:—

	S. s. d.	A. R. P.
Corporal John Jones,	43 19 0	97 3 24
Alexander Irwin,	22 14 4	45 1 24
Christopher Jones,	21 15 8	43 2 0
Richard Jones,	20 8 2	40 3 8
James Hugh,	21 3 5	42 1 8
Quarter-Master Nicholas Goulding, . . .	232 14 9	465 1 24
Pence excluded, total is	£367 13 0	735 1 8

"These are to certify that the arrears of the above persons are stated, and amount to the several sums according to their names respectively annexed, for which proportions of land are required at the rate of £500 for 1000 acres; as are likewise to their sums affixed, which amount in the whole for the said £367 13s. od. to the sum of 735A. 1R. 8P. 30th March, 1655.

"WILLIAM DIGGERS.

"To Major W. Shepherd, Major John King, and the other Commissioners for setting out lands in the county of Sligo, that they be added to the list of those to be satisfied there, and be permitted to draw lots as if they had been named in the original list." $\frac{\Delta}{83}$, p. 220.

a lot and find itself paid off with 10,000 acres of land in the mountains of Kerry, while the next regiment received 10,000 acres in the rich pastures of Tipperary or Limerick as of equal value, though the army received all the Munster lands from the state at £450 per 1000 acres. Accordingly, they equalized or set an approximate or more real value on the lands in the several counties and baronies, when casting lots for lands in discharge of their pay. Thus the regiments in the Munster lot valued the barony of Glaneroughty, containing the mountain land of Kerry, at £250 per thousand acres; but the barony of Clanwilliam, containing the Golden Vale of Tipperary, at £1100 per thousand acres.¹

THE COUNTIES AS VALUED BY THE ARMY.

In the following list will be seen the valuation of the several counties by the army, to make them more equal among themselves, preparatory to casting the first "Grand" or "Provincial Lot," to determine in what province each regiment was to be satisfied its arrears.

FOR EVERY THOUSAND ACRES IN THE PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.

Rates in the Act.	Counties.	New Rates.
£		
600	Wicklow.	Six hundred pounds.
600	Longford.	Six hundred pounds.
600	King's County.	Six hundred pounds.
600	Wexford.	Nine hundred pounds.
600	Catherlo.	Eleven hundred pounds.
600	Kildare.	Thirteen hundred pounds.
600	Kilkenny.	Eleven hundred pounds.
600	Queen's County.	Nine hundred pounds.
600	West Meath.	Nine hundred pounds.
600	Meath.	Thirteen hundred pounds.
600	Dublin.	Fifteen hundred pounds.
	The barony of Athirree in the county of Louth, twelve hundred pounds; the rest of the county being reserved wholly for the Adventurers.	

¹ _A ⁸⁴, p. 354. Order dated 28th July, 1653.

FOR EVERY THOUSAND ACRES IN THE PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.

Rates in the Act.	Counties.	New Rates.
£		
450	Cork.	Eight hundred pounds.
450	Waterford.	Eight hundred pounds.
450	Tipperary.	One thousand pounds.
450	Limerick.	Eleven hundred pounds.
450	Kerry.	Four hundred and fifty pounds.

FOR EVERY THOUSAND ACRES IN THE PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

Rates in the Act.	Counties.	New Rates.
£		
200	Antrim.	Five hundred and twenty pounds.
200	Armagh.	Four hundred and sixty pounds.
200	Tirone.	Four hundred pounds.
200	Fermanagh.	Four hundred and twenty pounds.
200	Donegal.	Four hundred pounds.
200	Londonderry.	Four hundred and fifty pounds.
200	Cavan.	Four hundred pounds.
200	Monaghan.	Four hundred and twenty pounds.
200	Down.	Five hundred and twenty pounds.
		For every thousand acres in the baronies of Sligo, Five hundred pounds. ¹

VALUATION OF THE BARONIES.

The lots for provinces having been cast, the officers of the several regiments in each provincial lot, before lotting for counties, valued the different baronies in their lot.

"Dublin, the 21st November, 1653.

"A Particular of the Rates of the several Counties in the Provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Ulster, as they were agreed to by the Generall Council of Officers to be settled upon each of the said Counties respectively, in order to the setting out of Lands for the satisfaction of the Arrears of them that are disbanded until the pleasure of the Parliament shall be further known therein, or a more exact account had of the quantity of Forfeited Lands in Ireland." From an original printed Declaration, small folio, of six pages, in the library of Charles Haliday, Esq., of Monkstown Park, Monkstown, county of Dublin: by William Bladen, Dublin: A. D. 1653.

The setting down of the army was effected in three great disbandings and assignments of land to the soldiery, which took place in September, 1655, and in July and November, 1656.¹ The following list concerns the first of these disbandings: "On 18 August, 1655, Lieut.-General Ludlow's, Sir Charles Coote's, Colonel Pretty's regiments of horse, and Colonel Ingoldsby's regiment of dragoons, and Colonel Axtels', Colonel Stubber's, and Colonel Clarke's regiments of foot, and some non-regimental companies were disbanded."² About sixty troops and companies were then satisfied.³ In the list will be found not only the equalization of the several baronies, but the names of the different captains, troops, and companies, they were set out to in succession.

¹ "Petty's Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 174.

² "Merceur. Politicus," p. 5580.

³ "Petty's Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 185.

Names of the Counties where the Disbanded are to be satisfied.	The Names of the Regiments out of which the Disbanded are reduced.	Names of the particular Troopes and Companies that are Disbanded.
Wexford.	<p>Lord Henry Cromwell's Regiment of Horse. Lieutenant-Generall Ludlow's Regiment of Horse.</p> <p>Colonel Daniel Abbott's Regiment of Dragoon's. Sir Hardress Waller's Regiment.</p> <p>Lord President's Regiment. Colonel Phair's Regiment. Loose Companies.</p>	<p>Captain Barrington. His owne Troope. Captain Ivorie's. Captain Nunn's. Captain Clayploe. Captain Packenham.</p> <p>Captain Holmes. Captain Candler. Captain Wilkinson. Captain Collis. Captain Cartrett. Captain Morgan. Major Cuppage. Captain Highgate. Major Shepherd. Captain Skinner. Supernumeraries of the Lord Henry Cromwell's Regiment to be added to this Lott.</p>
West Meath and East Meath.	<p>Colonell Ingoldsby's Regiment.</p> <p>General Venables' Regiment.</p> <p>Colonell Axtell's Regiment.</p> <p>Colonel Clarke's Regiment.</p> <p>Loose Companies.</p>	<p>His owne Troope. Captain Napper. Captain Campbell. Captain Wrenn. Captain Gibbons. Lieutenant-Colonell Pinchion. Captain Bownell. Captain Cornock. Captain Gardiner. Captain Talbott. Captain Disney. Captain Waltham. Supernumeraries of the Lord President's Regiment of Horse.</p>
Kilkenny and Queen's Co.	Colonell Stubbers.	<p>His owne Company. Captain Burrell. Captain Helsham. Captain Lynocks. Captain Garrett. Captain Mathews. Captain Pennyfather. Captain Richards.</p>

The Names of the Baronies that are to be set out to the Disbanded in succession.	The Rates of the severall Baronies.
Forth. Bargy.	£800 per thousand acres. 700 per thousand acres.
Shilmalier. Bantry.	600 per thousand acres. 600 per thousand acres.
Delvin. Half Fore. Corkerrie. Moygoise. Kells. } Ferbill.	£800 per thousand acres. 800 per thousand acres. 600 per thousand acres. 650 per thousand acres. 800 per thousand acres.
Moyfenrath. Clonlonan. Moycashel. Kiscoursie. }	1000 per thousand acres. 600 per thousand acres.
Liberties of Kilkenny. Upper Ossory.	£800 per thousand acres. 500 per thousand acres.

Names of the Counties where the Disbanded are to be satisfied.	The Names of the Regiments out of which the Disbanded are reduced.	Names of the particular Troopes and Companies that are Disbanded.
Limerick and Kerry.	<p>Lord President of Connaught's Regiment.</p> <p>Colonell Richard Lawrence.</p>	<p>Colonell Chidley Coote. Colonell Richard Coote. Major Ormsby. Major King. Captain St. George. The Lord President of Connaught, his owne arrears, and the Supernumeraries of his owne Troope. The Supernumeraries of the Lord Broghill's Troope. Captain Mould. Lieutenant-Colonell Jones. Captain Eudes. Supernumeraries of the Life Guard, Generall Officers and Traine.</p>
Tipperary and Waterford,	<p>Colonell Prettie's Regiment.</p> <p>Colonell Sadler's Regiment.</p> <p>Loose Company.</p>	<p>Captain William Bolton. Captain Alland ; each of them to have thirty out of their respective Troopes to place with them if they can gain so many to be free thereunto. Captain Thomas. Captain Nicholls and Major Brereton. Major Richardson. Supernumeraries of Colonell Prettie's Regiment to be added to this Lott.</p>
Cork.	<p>Loose Company. Lord Protector's Foot.</p> <p>Colonell Hewson.</p> <p>Loose Companies.</p>	<p>Captain Dutton Captain Seagrave. Captain Pelham. Captain Turner. Captain Hincham. Captain Jordan. Captain Markham. Major Walters. Supernumeraries of Commis-sary-General Reynolds, and Colonell Sankeys.</p>

The Names of the Baronies that are to be set out to the Disbanded in succession.	The Rates of the severall Baronies.
Coshlea. Small County.	£600 per thousand acres. 800 per thousand acres.
Coshma. Iracht I Connor. Clannoris. Corkaguiny.	700 per thousand acres. 350 per thousand acres. 350 per thousand acres. 250 per thousand acres.
Glanerought.	250 per thousand acres.
Clanwilliam.	1100 per thousand acres.
Gaultier and Middlethird.	£500 per thousand acres. 350 per thousand acres.
Kinalea, and Kerricurribie.	£570 per thousand acres.

PROVINCE OF ULSTER.¹

Names of the Counties where the Disbanded are to be satisfied.	The Names of the Regiments out of which the Disbanded were reduced.	Names of the particular Troops and Companies that are Disbanded.
Tirone.	Lord Deputy's Regiment.	Captain Morris. Supernumeraries of the Lord Deputy's Regiment of Horse.

OF THE EQUALISING OF THE LANDS IN THE LOT OF A TROOP OR COMPANY.

Thus the different regiments provided for some degree of equality in value as between themselves. But as the lands to satisfy each troop or company were set out by lot in a gross sum to the troop or company after the rate set upon the county or barony, without regard being had to the different and unequal value of the lands in themselves, it would necessarily follow that if a subdivision were not made in proportion to the real difference, some would have lands of a much greater value than others. It was therefore provided that the different regiments, troops, and companies, should nominate out of themselves persons to subdivide and set out the lands fallen to the regiment, troop, or company, according to their true and real value.² Accordingly, after the troops or companies were assigned a barony, the officers of the troop or company proceeded to rate the lands at their exact value, before casting lots or proceeding to divide them by agreement amongst the troop or company. Thus the generals of the army, the gentlemen of the life guard, and officers of the

¹ $\frac{A}{81}$, p. 136.

² "Petty's Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 278.

train (the artillery of that day), having received the Liberties of Limerick, as a supply, in case their lot of the barony of Clanwilliam in the county of Limerick should prove insufficient to satisfy their arrears, the Liberties being valued at the rate of £1500 per thousand acres, they particularly and distinctly equalized the several towns and seats belonging to the Liberties, according to the respective goodness, quality, and condition of the land, and according to the nature of the improvements in each of them, and set a value upon the particular places, in order to make the lots then about to be cast equal among themselves.¹

**SALE OF DEBENTURES BY THE COMMON SOLDIERS TO THEIR
OFFICERS.**

In the interval between the surrender of the principal Irish armies, in 1652, and the perfecting of the scheme for setting out the lands in Ireland, which was not published till Michaelmas, 1653, the distresses of the men, and even officers, for want of payment of their arrears, became very great. To raise moneys for their subsistence, they were found to be selling their debentures, the poor soldiers' dearly earned wages, at inconsiderable sums, thus depriving themselves of a future comfortable subsistence intended for them by those in authority, who would never have given out the lands at such low rates, but in tenderness to the soldiery, and in order to plant the country with those poor creatures whom the Lord had preserved in hardships and dangers, that they might enjoy the fruits of their labour.² Debentures were accordingly forbidden by the Act to be sold until the soldiers were

¹ $\frac{A}{81}$, p. 168.

² "Order, dated 28th July, 1653." $\frac{A}{84}$, p. 354.

actually in possession of their several allotments.¹ But the prohibition seems to have been unheeded, and practically void, because of the general desire of the men to sell, and of the officers to purchase; for it appears by the claims sent in at the Restoration to the Commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement (still subsisting²), as well as the many deeds of assignment in private custody, signed by all or nearly all the privates of different troops and companies, that the men conveyed their rights to their officers.³ The government

¹ Act for the Satisfaction of the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland and Arrears due to the Soldiery there, &c. Section 3, Scobell's "Acts and Ordinances."

² "Lists of Claims," among the Records of the late Auditor-General and Surveyor-General's Offices, Landed Estates Record Office, Custom House Buildings.

* SOLDIERS' ASSIGNMENT OF THEIR DEBENTURES TO THEIR OFFICER.

"KNOW ALL MEN by these presents, that wee, John Kingfoot, Thomas Etherett, Thomas Goodg, Ambrose Bayley, John Thomas, Lawrence Scott, Richard Gumbleton, Henry Frampton, Richard Boxley, Benjamin Fox, Thomas Right, John Piner, John Samon, William Yelding, Tobias Burt, John Lewis, Thomas Smith, Thomas Padle, John Jones, John Cads, John Davis, James Blow, William Hill, Evan ap Lewia, Thomas Dalton, William Johnson, Henry Fidey, Vincent Watkins, Gregory Bolton, Robert Rutter, William Weaver, Robert ap Richard, George Symes, and Robert Davis, Souldiers in Lieutenant-Colonell Richard Steephen's Company, of the late regiment of foote belonging to Colonell Daniel Axtell, in consideration of one hundred and thirty-six pounds to us and every of us, respectively and proportionably in hand paid by Arnold Thomas, Ensigne to the said company, by these presents do grant, assign, bargaine and sell to the said Arnold Thomas, his heirs, and assigns, ALL our right, interest, and estate in anie parcels of land, of what nature and qualitie it shall happen, and of what number of acres they shall happen to be and amount unto, lying and being within the dominion of Ireland, which are to be assigned and ascertained unto us in recompense of our services under the Parliament and Commonwealth of England in our service heare in Ireland, together with our severall debentures, with the sums therein mentioned to be due unto us, and to be satisfied out of the forfeited lands of delinquents by the Commissioners appointed for stating accompts, To HAVE AND To HOLD to the said Arnold Thomas, his

themselves were obliged to license the sale of them. Thus Lieutenant Goulburn got liberty, on 23rd of November, 1653, for him and his three servants to make sale of their debentures for their present necessities, notwithstanding the late printed declaration inhibiting the sale.¹ Often the government were obliged to advance money from the treasury on security of the debenture, as in the case of distressed widows of men or officers whose husbands had been killed in the service, often "slaine by the Toryes," leaving them a great charge of small children behind, and their distress increased by the great cost of coming to Dublin in hopes of possession of their lands, and long attendance there about taking out their husbands' debentures. In such cases small sums were ordered to be paid to enable them to return to their children, the advance to be endorsed on the debenture,

heirs, and assigns, to be held of the chief lords of the fee by services thereupon due and of right accustomed for ever. And wee have constituted and in our places severally put our well beloved friend, Richard Woods, late Marshall to the said Colonell Richard Axtell's regiment, our true and lawfull attorney, to enter and take possession for us and in our names of all such parcels of land wherever they shall fall, happen, or be assigned by lott or otherwise, within the dominion of Ireland; and after such possession so taken, them and everie of them for us and in our names peaceable possession thereof to the aforesaid Arnold Thomas to deliver, according to the tenor of these presents. In witness whereof, wee have hereunto put our hands and seals, this 26th day of June, 1656." Copied from the original in the possession of Joseph Hanly, Esq., 25, Lower Gardiner-street.

The deed is above a yard in length, though little more than six inches in width; and the thirty-six seals, being attached by parchment labels, give it something of the appearance of a fringed window vallance. Three only of the soldiers sign their names; all the rest, as well as the attesting witnesses, are marksmen. At page 210, see the "String" of this company, and the names of the lands sold by these men to Ensign Thomas. Also his conveyance to George Mathews.

¹ Dated 28th July, 1653. ^A ₈₄, p. 354.

so that it might be defalked thereout when lands should be given in satisfaction of the debenture.¹ At last debentures were freely and openly sold;² and there were regular debenture brokers, and a market rate, and prohibitions (of course eluded) against buying under eight shillings in the pound.³

¹ "Upon consideration had of the low and necessitous condition of Dorothy Arthur, widow, ordered that Mr. Standish, Receiver-General, do out of the first publique moneys, &c., pay unto the said Dorothy Arthur £4 os. od., y^e same to be on accownt of y^e moneys due upon y^e said Widow Arthur's debenter, and to be endorsed on y^e same, that it may be defalked thereout when lands shall be given in satisfaction thereof. 10th January, 1654.

"CHARLES FLEETWOOD. MILES CORBET. MATTH. THOMLINSON."

Order Book of Council, p. 209. Late Auditor-General's Records, Custom House Buildings, vol. x.

"Upon reading the petition of Elice Morton, and consideration had thereupon, and of her present necessitous condition by reason of her husband's death, who was in y^e Parliament's service, and slaine by y^e Tories, leaving her a greate charge of small children behinde, as also by reason of her long attendance att this place about taking out her husband's debenters, whereby she hath suffered much poverty and want;" ordered twenty shillings. January 8, 1654-5.

"CHARLES FLEETWOOD. MILES CORBET. ROBERT GOODWIN."

Ib. p. 208.

"Upon consideration had of the petition of Jane Platt, widdow, it appearing that her husband, Ensign George Platt, dec^d. was about two years since slaine in the Commonwealth's service, leaving the petitioner in a poor distressed and helpless condition, with three small children depending on her for maintenance; it is ordered that J. Standish, Esq., do, &c. pay unto Mr. T. Edwards, in trust for the said Jane Platt, the sum of £32, the same to be in full satisfaction of her debenture, which is to be delivered up to be cancelled. Dublin, June 11, 1655." Ibid., p. 92.

² "Anno 1653, debentures were freely and openly sold for 4s. and 5s. per pound." Petty's "Political Anatomy of Ireland," p. 26.

³ "Bee it knowne unto all men by these presents, that wee Richard Thornton, John Peake, John Ffanow, Samuel Dowler, William Ffensome, soouldiers of Sir George St. George's companie in Sir Chas. Cootte's Regiment of ffoot, commanded to America for and in consideration of a certaine summe of money by us received from Lieutenant Christopher Mathews, hath bargained sold & made over unto theforesaid Lieutenant Christopher Mathews, his heirs, exors, and

And Dr. Petty prides himself upon always buying from the regular debenture brokers, and never at first hand from the necessitous soldier (though trepanners were sent to entrap him into purchasing); while officers were notoriously guilty

admo^rs for ever, all and everie parte & parcell of our landes due unto us for our arrears for our service in Ireland, or whatever we or either of us shall be allowed for the said service in landes or otherwise according to the tennor of our debentures. In witness whereof, wee have hereunto putt our handes and seales, this twentieth day of May, 1656.

"Signed, sealed & delivered
in presence of us whose names
ensue:

"ALEX^T. AITKENS.

ROBERT FFLOYD.

GEORGE HARTE.

RICH. x THORNTON,
his marke & seale. ◎
JOHN x PEAKE,
his marke & seale. ◎
JOHN x FFANON,
his marke & seale. ◎
SAMUEL x DOWLER,
his marke & seale. ◎
WILLIAM W. x FFENSCOME,
his marke & seale. ◎

Lieutenant Christopher Mathew, brother or cousin of Captain George Mathew, purchased largely of the men of Sir George St. George's Company in Sir Charles Coote's Regiment and those of Colonel Richard Coote's troope in Colonel Henry Pretty's regiment, "commanded to America." The assignments are all on small picces of paper; they make a good handful. Lieutenant Mathew was then quartered at Carrick-on-Shannon.

"Knowne unto all men by these *presence*, that I Daniel Keeffe doe acknowledge to have received of Lieutenant Christ^t. Mathewes the sum of *ten pounds twelve shillings*, it being in lew & full satisfaction of my Debenture sould unto the said Lieutenant Mathewes at the rate of eight shillings the pound: in witness whereof, I have hereunto put my hand and seale the 20th of March, 1656.

"DANIEL x KEEFFE. ◎

"Signed & Delivered before me, one of
his highnes Justices of peace:

"BENJ. CURRIGAN.

ALEX. EDITKINS.

DAVID RUE."

"Knowne unto all men by these presence, that I James Millborne doe acknowledge to have received of Lieut. Christopher Mathewes the sum of ten

of buying of their own poor soldiers remaining under their command, “whom we may well conceive frightable into any bargain, by what aweings or other means may be left to consideration.”¹

In this manner a considerable part of the debentures were sold before the assignments of lands; and when the disbanding took place, the common soldiers who had not parted with their debentures refused in many instances to plant.

**THE COMMON SOLDIERS DISCONTENTED AT BEING FORCED TO
PLANT.**

On the 1st of September, 1655, was to take place the first and largest of the three great disbandings of the army, and the assignment of lands to them for their arrears of pay,² the two years which had elapsed since the passing of the Act of Satisfaction of 27th September, 1653, having been consumed by surveys, and by the contest of the officers with the government as to the quantity of land applicable to their immediate payment. The different regiments of the army, which had been for three years garrisoning towns or posts of strength, tilling fields in the neighbourhood of their garrisons

pounds, it being in lew & full satisfaction of my Debenture sould unto the said Lieutt. Mathewes at the rate of eight shillings the pound: in witness whereof, I have hereunto put my hande and seale the 28th of October, 1656.

“JAMES MILBORNE. ◎

“ Signed, sealed & Delivered before
me one of his highness’s Justices of Peace :

“ BENJ. CURRIGAN.

“ ALEX^r. EDITKINS.”

¹ Petty’s “Reflections upon some Persons and Things in Ireland,” &c., pp. 34, 36. 12mo. London : 1660.

² Petty’s “History of the Down Survey,” by Major T. A. Larcom, p. 174.

as part of their pay, were now to march under command of their officers to the different counties in which each regiment was to be satisfied its arrears, there to cast lots, to determine in what baronies the several troops and companies should sit down.

In 1646 the army, secretly worked upon by Cromwell, then aiming at supreme power, were mutinous at being ordered to Ireland, protesting that they were Volunteers, and could not be forced out of England.¹ Commissioners were employed to persuade them. They cried, " Fairfax and Cromwell, and we all go."² In December, 1648, both King and Parliament were subdued. Cromwell's next step towards the Protectorate was to make the army completely his own, by leading it to victory in Ireland. The following was probably written at his suggestion :—

"From Pontefract, December 29, 1648.

"It is a great pity the Militia of this county should be disbanded. We hear of some overtures made by the army for engaging them, and all the supernumeraries of the kingdom. The service will be gallant, and the design superlative ; and if Old Noll, or any man of gallantry and fidelity, do accept of that brigade, he cannot want men or money."³

In April following, four regiments of horse, and four of foot, out of fourteen regiments of the army of England, were ordered by the Parliament for service in Ireland. The officers, knowing the temper of the men, called a council of the army ; and the council, after a solemn seeking of God by prayer, cast lots which regiments of the old army should go. Fourteen

¹ 6th Rushworth's "Collections," p. 471.

² "Perfect Diurnal," April 15, 1646, p. 1558.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 2283.

paper lots were prepared, ten of the papers being blank, and four of them with "Ireland" written on them; and all being put into a hat, and shuffled together, they were drawn out by a child, who gave to an officer of each regiment in the lot the lot of that regiment; and being drawn in this inoffensive way, it was pretended that no regiment could take exception to it.¹ The army, however, was mutinous; and it required the presence of old Colonel Skippon, then in the House of Commons, and many other influences, to appease it. Once embarked, however, others easily followed, and Cromwell's successes brought numbers to his standards. In December, 1649, "we hear by letters from York of a rendez-vous of Colonel Lilburn's party that are marching for Ireland, about a hundred old blades, stout men, and well horsed, ready for the service."²

In 1653, the common soldiers do not seem to have been too well satisfied that their arrears should be satisfied in Irish lands. The State in Ireland were fully aware of the temper of the men; and the anxiety of the Lord Deputy is evident in the tone of his circular letter addressed to each Commanding Officer of the several troops and companies to be disbanded on the 1st September, 1656.

"Dublin Castle, 20 Aug^t. 1655.

"SIR,—In pursuance of his Higness's command, the council here with myself and chief officers of the army having concluded about disbanding part of the army in order to lessening the present charge, it is fit that your troope be one. And accordingly I desire you would march such as are willing to plant of them into the barony of Shelmaliere in the county of Wexford, at or before the 1st day of September, where you shall be put into possession of your lands for your arrears,

¹ Whitelocke's "Memorials," p. 397 b.

² Ib., 434.

according to the rates agreed on by the committee and agents. As also you shall have upon the place wherein you are so much money as shall answer the present three months' arrear due to you and your men, but to continue no longer the pay of the army than upon the muster of this August. The sooner you march your men the better ; thereby you will be enabled to make provision for the winter." After some sweetening hints that they will be perhaps paid hereafter as a militia, he concludes :—

" And great is your mercy, that after all your hardships and difficulties you may sit down, and, if the Lord give his blessing, may reap some fruit of your past services. Do not think it a blemish or underrating of your past services that you are now disbanded ; but look upon it as of the Lord's appointing, and with cheerfulness submit thereunto ; and the blessing of the Lord be upon you all, and keep you in His fear, and give you hearts to observe your past experience of signal appearances. And that this fear may be seen in your hearts, and that you may be kept from the sins and pollutions which God hath so eminently witnessed against in those whose possessions you are to take up, is the desire of him who is

" Your very affectionate friend to love and serve you,¹

" CHARLES FLEETWOOD."

The newswriters for the State, who always represent the disposition of people actually to be what the government wishes it should be believed to be, described the soldiers as quite content with being disbanded :—

¹ "Mercurius Politicus," p. 5581.

" Dublin, September 5th, 1655.

" I have little to add to my last besides the enclosed. My Lord Deputy¹ takes shipping for England to-morrow, and the officers and souldiers are all marcht (that were disbanded) to their lots in the counties of Wexford, Lymerick, Eastmeath, Westmeath, &c. They are generally fully content; I never saw a business of the kind go on with less repining, so great have our blessings been under the government of him who is departing from us. Our loss will be your gain; it will be your mercy to make better use of such a mercy as he is than we have done. We doubt not but God will furnish him that shall succeed, viz. the Lord Henry Cromwell, with a spirit fit to his work, which in this nation is much, and requires much of the Lord's assistance, as he hath found to his comfort that is now leaving us. The several Commissioners for setting out land to the disbanded officers and souldiers are hasted out of town, that the souldiers may be speedily settled, and comfortably lie down on their portions, which is so much the more to be accepted, in that they are not at the will of their cruel enemies to seek their bread at their hands; but having by the blessing of God obtained their peace, they may sit down in the enjoyment of their enemies fields and houses which they planted not, nor built not; they have no reason to repent their services, considering how great an issue God hath given."²

The Commissioners, however, gave a different account from the spot. They informed the government that divers officers and soldiers of the regiments and companies of foot appointed to be disbanded, when they appeared before them,

¹ Fleetwood, who had married Bridget, Oliver's eldest daughter, widow of Major-General Ireton.

² P. 5620, "Mercurius Politicus."

would not sit down upon their lands, notwithstanding the encouragement offered by a new suit of clothes,¹ and one month's half-pay;² and notwithstanding the government promised to consider of their demand that a sufficient number of Irish labourers, husbandmen, and servants might be allowed to stay amongst them until they should be better enabled to plant without them.³

It was the officers only, in point of fact, that promoted the design of taking land for their arrears; and some even of them seem to have shared the discontent of the common men, as Lieutenant-Colonel Scott was arrested for agitating the disbanded companies sitting down in the county of Wexford, in September, 1655, by treasonable words against his Highness, tending to mutiny and distemper.⁴ In Ireland the common men found no beer, no cheese; they had no ploughs nor horses, nor money to buy them. The Irish were for the most part transplanted, or had betaken themselves to the woods and mountains as Tories.

But beyond all other wants was felt that imperious want, the want of women. Irish girls there were, and only too charming. An English officer of Queen Elizabeth's army paints them gambolling by wood side and river like groups of Grecian nymphs. He had seen them in the brooks,

" 29 August, 1656.

" Upon consideration had of the petition of John Fforsett for self and other disbanded soldiers, praying satisfaction of cloth allowed to others disbanded at the same time, which they have not yet received; ordered that it be referred to the Auditor-General of his Highness's Court of Exchequer to examine the truth of what is suggested in the within petition; and if they find the same to be true, and within the rule, to prepare orders for the same, as formerly for others in like cases.

" THOMAS HERBERT, Clerk of the Council."

¹ $\frac{A}{30}$, p. 94.

² $\frac{A}{5}$, p. 245.

³ $\frac{A}{5}$, p. 243.

(“For bathing is their sweet delight,
So long they do remain”—)

and he thus expresses the attractions of these sportive beauties at their bath :

“ To see what games they can devise,
And sundrie pastimes make,
’Twould cause, I do assure you,
A horse his halter break.”¹

But Cromwell’s soldiers were forbidden under heavy penalties to take Irish girls for wives. For any amours with them during their service in the army they were severely flogged ;²

¹ “Image of Ireland,” by John Derrick, A. D. 1581. Somer’s “Collection of Tracts,” vol. i., pp. 573–575.

²

“June 15, 1655.

“By the Court Martial.

“Whereas, by a court marshall this day held at Whitehall, Hugh Powell, sooldier in Captain Lieutenant Hoare’s Company, of Collonel Huson’s regiment, was convicted and found guilty of fornication, within the third article of warre, and for the same was adjudged to be whipped on the bare back with a whipcord lash, and have forty stripes while he is led through the four companies of the Irish forces before Whitehall, at the time of the parade on Munday next, and twenty stripes more after that at Putney, while hee is led through those of the Irish party that quarter there, neer the Widow Nashe’s house there; You are hereby required to cause the said sentence of the court marshall to bee put in execution with effect; and the chief officers present with the said Irish companies at the time of the parade at Whitehall, on the said Munday, as also the chief officers present, with those of the Irish party quartering at Putney, are hereby desired to draw the said companies into two single files, to the end the said Hugh Powell may bee led through and receive his punishment accordingly.

“Signed in the name and by the order of the said Court.

“THOS. MARGETS, Advocate.

“To the Marshall General of the Army, or his Deputies.”

P. 4795, “Mercurius Politicus.”

July 16, 1655 : William Sword, a foot soldier, in Lieutenant-Colonel Venables’ own company, belonging to Ireland, for like offence was adjudged “to be whippet at the limbers of a piece of ordnance in Windsor, from the Castle gate to the Churchyard gate, in the High Street, and back again, with a whipcord lash.” “Mercurius Politicus,” p. 4797.

and as the soldiers always pretended that the Irish girls they married were converts to English religion, Ireton declared it was to be feared that these women were still Papists and only for some corrupt and carnal ends pretended to be otherwise, and forbade all intermarriages, unless the girls first passed an examination into the real state of their hearts before a board of military saints, to ascertain whether the change flowed from a real work of God upon their hearts, convincing them of the falsehood of their own ways, and the goodness and truth of that way they turn to, or from but corrupt and carnal ends, under penalty, if the soldiers marrying were dragoons, of being reduced to foot soldiers—if foot soldiers to pioneers—without hope in either case of promotion.¹

"Dublin Castle, 17 March, 1653-4.

"Upon the information of Colonel Solomon Richards, that Captain William Williamson is now a prisoner in Dublin upon suspicion of committing fornication with a woman in the county of Tipperary, during the time of his service there; and that the said Colonel has entered into a recognizance to prosecute the said Captain for the misdemeanour and offence aforesaid; and forsoomuch as the said offence is alleged to have been committed within the precinct of Clonmel as aforesaid; it is ordered that the said Captain Williamson be sent forthwith in safe custody from Dublin to Clonmel, there to be secured by the said Colonel Richards, and the rest of the Commissioners for administration of justice there in order to his tryal; and that the recognizances be delivered to the said Colonel Richards to be cancelled: whereof all whom it may concern are to take notice.

"CHARLES FLEETWOOD, MILES CORBET, JOHN JONES."

A
85, p. 187.

¹ *"By the Deputy Generall of Ireland.*

"Whereas divers officers and soldiery of the army doe daily intermarry with the women of this nation who are Papists, or who only for some corrupt or carnall ends (as it is to be feared) pretend to bee otherwise, and who, while remaining, or not being really brought off from those false ways in which they have or doe walk, are declared by the Lord to be a people of his wrath. And though a reall change in the blinde deluded people of this nation were to be wished and ought to be endeavoured by all good peopel (it being the joy and delight of any that God hath brought home to himselfe to see the like worke upon others hearts

After being disbanded, if they married any of these attractive but "idolatrous" daughters of Erin, they were liable to have them taken from them, or to march after them to Connaught if they could not do without them.

**COMMON SOLDIERS CHEATED OF THEIR LOTS OF LAND BY THEIR
OFFICERS.**

But even if the soldier had not sold his debenture to his officer, and was willing to plant, he was sometimes cheated by them of his lot. For they wrung elections of seats and demesnes they coveted from their own poor soldiers,¹ who, remaining² under their command, were frightable into any bargain; or, on coming down to look for possession, the poor soldier would be shown a bog or other piece of coarse land, and the officer would tell him that was the lot set out to him, and by that

also, which frame of spirit I trust all Christians in this army have towards that people); yet that none be left to their own misguided judgments in things where usually blinded affection makes them take any pretence for a reall worke of God on the heart, I think fit to lett all know that if any officer or souldier of this army shall marry with any women of this nation that are Papista, or have lately been such, and whose change of religion is not, or cannot be judged (by fitt persons, such as shall be appointed for that end) to flow from a reall worke of God upon their hearts, convincing them of the falsehood of their owne ways, and goodness and truth of that way they turn to, or that from any circumstance accompanying that action it shall be judged to be but from carnall ends that they have made this change, I say that any officer who marries any such shall hereby be held uncapable of command or trust in this army, and for any soldier, &c. [as above], unlesse God doe by a change wrought upon them with whom they have married take off this reproach. *Given at Waterford, 1st May, 1651.*

"IRETON."

"Severall Proceedings in Parliament from 17th to 24th July, 1651,"
p. 145⁸.

¹ "Reflections upon some Persons and Things in Ireland, by Letters to and from Dr. Petty, with Sir Hierome Sankey's Speech in Parliament," p. 28.
12mo. London: 1660.

² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

means bought the good land which really was the poor man's at the price of the bog.¹ In such cases one can easily conceive how the man might be willing to take a horse in exchange, and a few shillings in his pocket to ride home with ; and that thus the traditions, so common in Ireland, like that of the White Horse of the Peppers, that the price of such and such an estate was a white horse, have their foundations in fact. Thus the scheme of an extensive plantation of English yeomanry in Ireland, ready at all times to furnish a stout military population to recruit the forces in England, or to turn out in arms to defend their own interests against the Irish or any foreign force coming to their aid, so often attempted before in the course of the century, again failed. The former schemes, however, were better contrived, being plans for regular colonization ; but the Cromwellian design was wild in the extreme, for of all bodies an army is the worst to colonize with. What chance would there be of a colony, if at this day a regiment of cavalry or infantry were marched into the wilds of Ireland, and there disbanded, and told to plant ?

**ATTEMPTS OF THE OFFICERS TO TAKE UNFAIR ADVANTAGE OF
ONE ANOTHER IN THE SETTING OUT OF LANDS.**

The opportunity for the officers to obtain unfair advantages seems to have been principally in the setting out of the lands. The surveyors either left out lands from the lot—sometimes in favour of an influential officer, not of the troop or company, who had got possession of land under a lease *in custodiam* from the state, and who hoped by holding longer possession to get a grant of it in fee—or if an officer got a lot he did not relish, he endeavoured to throw out the coarse land, and encroach at the expense of his neighbours.

¹ " Reflections upon some Persons and Things in Ireland, by Letters to and from Dr. Petty, with Sir Hierome Sankey's Speech in Parliament," p. 28. 12mo. London : 1660.

Colonel Le Hunte was captain of Cromwell's life or body guard of horse, a most influential person. He was in possession by lease from the state of some of the rich lands in the suburbs of New Ross, at the time when Major Samuel Shepherd's company was to be set down with the disbanded party in the county of Wexford, the lot of the Major's company falling near the town and liberties of Ross.

The lots ought in due course to be set out without interval; but the surveyors left out 1500 acres of this fine land, pretending partly that it was on lease to Colonel Le Hunte, and partly that some of it was burgess land belonging to the town. Major Shepherd had influence enough to get Colonel Le Hunte's lease suspended; and by an inquisition from the Exchequer got it found that the land was not corporation land, but forfeited land, and he recovered it for his company.¹

Colonel Warden having obtained an order of the Council Board to be satisfied his arrears in the barony of Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny, the lands of Jackstown, Kilbeg, and Kilmarry were assigned to him by the Commissioners for setting out lands; but by leaving out all the coarse lands in his lot, he encroached into Columkill, and made up his pretended want out of the best part of Columkill, in the lot of Quartermaster Hugh Farr.²

Similar to this was one of the charges against Dr. Petty, that he reserved or withheld out of the strings of lands, when handing them to the Commissioners to be set out to different regiments, several choice places, under pretence that they were encumbered or doubtful, for the benefit either of himself or friends, and kept debentures in reserve to be placed there without lot. "So came he (said his anonymous opponent) by the North Liberties of Limerick, and the post town of Bal-

¹ A
12, p. 75.

² A
12, p. 71.

lintoy in Ulster."¹ Sir Jerome Sankey imputed to him another indirect course of dealing with the Liberties of Limerick. General Monk got an order of the Lord Protector and the Council of State, equivalent to an Act of Parliament, to be satisfied his arrears of £2637 in the county of Wexford,² the soldiers thereby removed to receive in satisfaction 5860 acres, representing £2637 at the Act Rates (which were at the rate of £450 per 1000 acres in Munster³) on the Mile line, or Connaught belt, between Loophead in the county of Clare (the northern cape at the mouth of the Shannon), and the county of Galway.⁴ Petty had bought debentures belonging to the Wexford lot to the amount of £1000, and had secretly obtained an order to receive satisfaction in such places as he should himself make choice of. He selected 1453 acres in the North Liberties of Limerick, suggesting that there were not 5860 acres undisposed of on the Mile line if the North Liberties of Limerick (by law belonging to the Wexford lot⁵) should be excluded.⁶ And he concealed his purchase by acting in the name and as if in the behalf of the Lord Henry Cromwell.⁷ Captain Winkworth, having obtained an order for this coveted district, presented it to Dr. Petty, who simply told him that the lands were reserved, and that he could not have his debenture satisfied. Out of this incident, Sir Jerome Sankey founded the charge in Parliament, of which Sir W.

¹ Petty's "Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 260.

² Dated 22nd August, 1654. Petty's "Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 224.

³ P. 187, *suprad.*

⁴ Order dated 22nd July, 1657. "Petty's Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 224.

⁵ "The north Liberties of Limerick did by law belong to the Wexford lott, and with debentures belonging to that lott I purchased them." Petty's "Answer to the nine charges, &c." *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁶ Assignment of lands by the Commissioners for setting forth lands to the army, dated 25th February, 1657-8. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

⁷ "The situation of his lands, and that in His Excellency's name, and without lot." Anonymous opponent. *Ibid.*, p. 262.

Petty gives a graphic sketch, that well illustrates the picture of these conquerors quarrelling among themselves over their prey. After a whole string of other charges, "Why then, Mr. Speaker (said Sir Jerome), there's Captain Winkworth : Captain Winkworth came with an order for the Liberties of Limerick ; but the Doctor said, 'Captain, will you sell ? will you sell ?' 'No,' said the Captain, 'it is the price of my blood.' Then said the Doctor, 'Tis bravely said : why then, my noble Captain, the Liberties of Limerick are meat for your master,' meaning the Lord Deputy ;¹ Sankey's cause of quarrel with Dr. Petty being that he stopped Sankey's unrighteous order for rejecting three thousand acres fallen to him by lot, and enabling him arbitrarily to elect the same quantity in its stead,² thus rejecting at his pleasure what God had predetermined for his lot.³

¹ Petty's "Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 299.

² Petty's "Reflections on some Persons and Things in Ireland," &c., p. 69.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

CHAPTER V.

THE ADVENTURERS.

MATTERS are usually badly managed from a distance; and as the Committee of Adventurers directed their affairs in Ireland from Grocers' Hall in London, the business could scarce fail to become entangled.

Their mode of proceeding was to quarter and sub-quarter baronies (without regard to the quantity of forfeited land in each barony), sometimes by a north and south line crossed by an east and west line, sometimes by parallel lines running east and west, or north and south, sometimes by diagonal lines, the rule being (in order to preserve denominations entire) that on whatever side of the quartering line the greatest part of a denomination fell, the whole was to be reputed to lie entirely on that side; which rule was also applicable to sub-quarterings.¹ But, instead of first reducing the townlands into one continued file or string of contiguity of "*neat*" lands, setting aside for a time encumbered or "*dubious*" lands, that so it might be known with certainty from the first to the last disposable denomination in what order of priority each should be disposed of, the managers in London gave assignments on the different quarters and sub-quarters without proper oversight.²

¹ Petty's "Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 238.

² ADVENTURER'S CERTIFICATE.

"To ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING,—Whereas, by an ordinance made by His Highness the Lord Protector, by and with the advice and consent of his Council, bearing date the 6th August, 1654, entitled an Ordinance appointing a Committee of Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, for

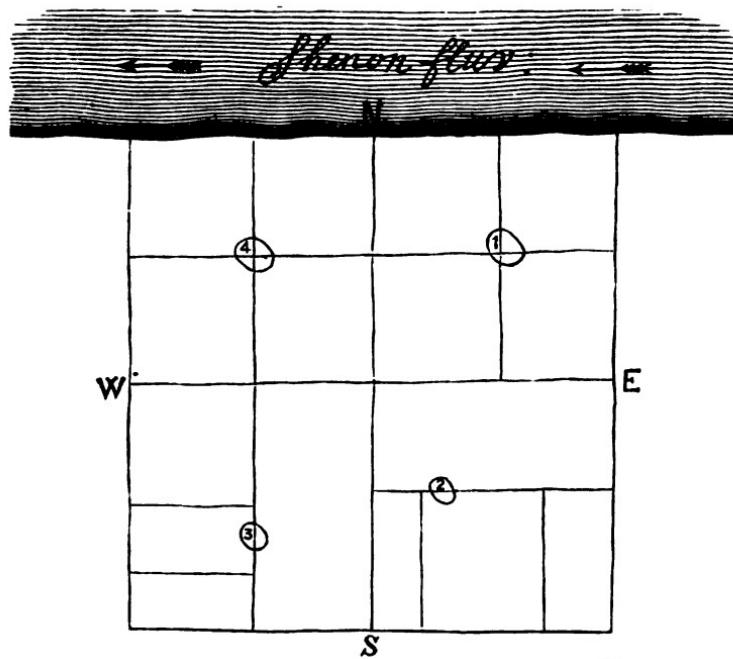
Not knowing accurately what quantities of forfeited land were in each quarter and sub-quarter, they overloaded some, which thereby became deficient to answer the claims. Some baronies, for like want of information (or perhaps from misdealing) were redundant. In some divisions, lands set down as forfeited were found to be not forfeited, or were restored to delinquent Protestants on composition. Nor were the managers of the allotments free from imputations of fraud.

Sir Nicholas Crispe was a large Adventurer for Irish lands. He appears to have subscribed both for the land and sea service. For the land service he and his copartners subscribed £1500. For the sea service he adventured of his own moneys £1700. But the subscribers to the latter, having only an ordinance of the two houses for their security, were not recognised at the Restoration. By his petition, presented to the

determining differences among the said Adventurers, -Wee, Sir Thomas Dacre, Sir John Clotworthy, Alderman Thomas Andrews, Alderman John Fowke, Alderman Samuel Avery, Thomas Ayres, John Blackett, Senior, William Webb, William Hawking, Charles Lloyd, George Almery, Thomas Barnardiston, John Greensmith, Lawrence Bromeswold, Thomas Brightwell, Deputie Hutchinson [with many others], or anie eleven or more of us, are authorized to settle a method for determining by lott how many and which of the Adventurers proportions falling within one and the same particular barony wherein the escheated lands shall fall short of the allotment shall be continued and laid out in such barony, or how much thereof; and which of the said Adventurers shall take his proportion or how much thereof elsewhere, according to the Act of Parliament made on that behalf. And also to settle a method by lott for ascertaining the subdivisions of Adventurers proportions that shall continue in all and everie the severall baronies according to the respective allotments. Now WEE DO HEREBY CERTIFY that the barony of Eliogarty, in the county of Tipperary, in the province of Munster in Ireland, being equally and indifferently divided into four quarters, that is to say, North East, No. 1; South East, No. 2; South West, No. 3; and North West, No. 4; Ellen Milborne, wife of John Milborne, of the parish of St. Clement Danes, in the county Middlesex, Bitt Maker, upon a lott made according to the method by us sett down, by virtue of the said ordinance, and duly drawne in her behalfe, is to have to her and her heirs and assigns for ever two

A CHARACTER of ye dividing of ye Barony of Connello, in the County of Limerick, as it was sent to Captain Robert Newcomen and Mr. William Perkinson, Surveyors for ye Irish Adventurers, whose Lots fell in ye Barony of Connello, from ye Committee of Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, under ye hand of Mr. Deacon, Clerke of ye Committee.¹

May, 1658.



Mr Thomas Johnson Surveyor who was
then Servant to Mr William Perkinson
Witness John Porrett

PLOT OR CHARACTER referred to in Sir Nicholas Crispe's Petition.

¹ The town of Askeaton would stand near the North-Eastern, the town of Glyn near the North-Western angle of this Plot, both in the county of Limerick.

King, in 1664, it appears that he was by the surveyor's fraud thrust for his proportion in the county of Limerick into a bog. The barony ought by rule to be quartered, and each quarter to be sub-quartered. But those that had share in the same barony with Sir Nicholas Crispe were men of power in that ill time; and, contrary to all justice, in that sub-quarter where Sir Nicholas's lot fell they divided one half into three parts, instead of by a cross line into equal quarters, and so left Sir Nicholas's proportion in a bog and coarse land, which he could not let for more than the quit rent, which was his division for one thousand pounds. The better to exhibit the fraud, he attached the annexed "character" to his petition.¹

hundred and twenty-two acres, three roods, and thirty perches of meddow, arable land, and profitable pasture, Irish measure, which amounts to 359 acres, 3 roods, 31 perches, English measure; and all the woods, boggs, loughs, waters, fishings, and barren mountains, cast in over and above, together with the houses and edifices thereon, and in her said lott contained in the North West quarter, No. 4, of the same baronie, if the same be there to be had, the numbers one, two, and three, being first satisfied, beginning her said measure for the same with the rest of the Adventurers for the said quarter of such forfeited and profitable lands as aforesaid, where No. 3 shall end, in what part of the said four quarters soever of the said baronie the same shall happen to be; and soe measuring from thence-forward until she and they shall have her and their full proportion of lands lying most contiguously together in that quarter of the same baronie if the same be there to be had: and in case of deficieney of forfeited and profitable lands for satisfaction of the said Ellen Milborne and the rest of the Adventurers in the said quarter in the residue of the said barony, the Nos. 1, 2, and 3, being first satisfied, then she and they are to have satisfaction for the same, or so much thereof as shall be so wanting elsewhere: in witness whereof, wee have hereunto sett our hands and seals, this 26th day of March, 1654."

Attached are eleven seals. From the original in possession of Mr. Joseph Hanly.

"The Petition of Sir Nicholas Crispe, Knight.

"Sheweth,—That your petitioner having a Lott for his adventure in the barony of Connello in Ireland, those that had share in the same barony with him (who were men of power in that ill time), being to divide the said barony into four equal parts, which was done, each fourth part to be subdivided into four

The consequences were painful: some had too much; others too little, or none at all. Some were found to have satisfactions consisting of several townlands in length, from one extremity to another, more than three times the breadth. Others had townlands not contiguous.¹ They had, in fact, skipped over coarse townlands, instead of proceeding regularly in the line of progression. Others had taken bites as it were out of several townlands, whereas, in making satisfaction, more than two denominations should never be cut:² for, as the next preceding satisfaction might not exactly have exhausted the last denomination, the following satisfaction might of course have to begin with a broken one, and for the same reason end with one; so much cutting might be necessary, but not more.

The deficient Adventurers looked to the county of Louth, allotted by the act for a supply in case of deficiency of the ten half counties, and even threatened to come upon the four re-

equall quarters, which, contrary to all justice and equity, in that quarter where your Petitioners' lott fell they divided the one half into three parts, which should have been by a cross line into equall quarters, as by a character thereof under the hand of the Surveyor hereunto annexed appears. By which unequal doing, contrary to order and practice, they left your petitioner his proportion in a Bogg and coarse land, which your petitioner cannot let for more than the Quit Rent, which is his division for one thousand pounds.

"It ia, therefore, his most humble prayer that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to give order to the Right Honble. the Commissioners, that by the Bill now preparing are to regulate the Adventurers interests in Ireland, that there may be a view had of this indirect dealing, and that right be done the petitioner therein."

Referred (8th Decoember, 1664), to the Duke of Ormond "and those other honourable persons who are appointed to assist His Grace in the consideration of the Bill [of Explanation] to be prepared for the settlement of Ireland"—to report. Vol. F., Record Tower, Dublin Castle, p. 266.

¹ "Petty's Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 241.

² Ibid.

served counties, the government reserve ; while the army, which had only received lands to the amount of twelve shillings and three pence per pound of their arrears, and were eager for more, were also looking for Louth, and insisted that if Dr. Petty were employed to overhaul the Adventurers' proceedings, they would be found to have had lands sufficient. Petty was accordingly, with the assent of the Adventurers, directed to arrange the whole ; and some light is thrown on the mode of distributing the lands to the army by his proceedings in this business. As a preliminary, he desired to know "Whether all the baronies were quartered ? And all lands within the barony, or only forfeited lands ? Which baronies were divided into four quarters by parallel lines, and which by north and south lines crossing each other ? Whether the divisional lines ran straight, thereby needlessly cutting many denominations or parcels in the same barony ? Or whether it was so contrived that one parcel only should be cut for adjusting the whole ? What rules also were given for the beginning or pitching upon the first parcel in the first quarter, and what rules to determine which parcel should successively succeed, and be 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, &c.,¹ or whether the same was left to discretion ? What rules they had in turning about so as to maintain contiguity, when they passed out of the South-East quarter into the South-West, forasmuch as in the South-East quarter they proceeded from North to South, and in the South-West Quarter, from South to North contrariwise ?"

Dr. Petty proceeded to London to Grocers' Hall, and

¹ At p. 207, *supra*, will be found the method Dr. Petty adopted in this particular in setting out lands to the army.

² The Lord Henry Cromwell, the Lord Deputy, to Methusaleh Turner, and Mr. Robert Hammond, and Mr. Manton, 27 January, 1657-8. Thurloe's "State Papers," vol vi., p. 759. [The language, however, is plainly Petty's.]

having obtained the confidence of the Committee of Adventurers there, he acquired the information on all these and other particulars necessary towards giving the deficient Adventurers satisfaction. He finally formed two parallel lists of deficient and redundant baronies, the first deficient barony to be repaired out of the first redundant, and so downward, till all were satisfied, and at the end it would be found if Louth were free for the army.

The several denominations in each barony were to be made into one continued file or string of contiguity, and so be set out, and these strings to be arranged by three several artists, from whom the priority of the lots of the Adventurers were carefully withheld; and, when made, one of the strings was to be chosen by lot, as the only rule in the matter of succession—provisions to prevent any charges of partiality.

And these same artists were to determine by what line every townland should be cut in cases where there might be occasion for cutting, for making up a just number of acres answering to each lot or debt¹—a very necessary provision for Dr. Petty's safety; for he had found in the case of the soldiers, that when the surveyor did not lay the house and orchard on the right side of the line, the party disappointed was sure to say Dr. Petty employed incompetent surveyors.

The priority of the certificates, or order of succession in which they should be satisfied, like as the succession of the debentures, was also fixed beforehand—in spite of which, in the soldiers' case, if they fell upon coarse land, better land being behind, it was said Dr. Petty had overcharged the lot, and stuffed in his own friends:² if better lands were before, then debentures were not equally and impartially fixed.³

¹ "Petty's Down Survey," by Laroom, where, in chapter xvi., pp. 227–256, these proceedings are set forth.

² Petty's "Reflections on some Persons and Things in Ireland," p. 113.

³ *Ibid.*, ib., p. 115.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RE-INHABITING OF IRELAND.

IRELAND being now divided between the Adventurers, the English army, and the State, who may all be considered as new purchasers of their several portions, the great opportunity so long looked for had arrived to make it another England¹ or (as Dr. Petty said), to replant and reduce it to its former flourishing condition.²

The original design of the Parliament was to leave untransplanted of the Irish, besides boys and girls entertained as servants in English families, only a few who had never been in arms, to serve as husbandmen and herdsmen to the English, and thus to impose upon the new planters the necessity to bring tenants from England. However, having regard to the difficulty of this perfect and absolute English plantation, the Parliament of England resolved to divide Ireland into three districts or divisions—one of them to be a pure Irish plantation; another, a pure English plantation, to consist wholly of English (not excluding, however, Dutch, Swiss, and Germans, or other foreigners, provided they were opposed to the Irish); the third, a mixed plantation of English landlords and masters, with a permission to take Irish tenants and servants, but only such as were without the rule of transplantation.³

Connaught, as bounded by the River Shannon, including the county of Clare, had been already appointed by Parliament

¹ P. 73, *suprd.*

² "Petty's Down Survey," by Larcom, p. 1.

³ "The Great Interest of England in the well Planting of Ireland with English People Discussed," p. 21. By Colonel Richard Lawrence.

for the habitation of the Irish nation. The reason of this selection was, its peculiar suitableness for the purpose of imprisonment. It is, in fact, an island surrounded (all but ten miles) by the Shannon and the sea, and the whole river easily made into one line with the sea by the erection of three or four forts between Jamestown, at the head waters of the Shannon, and Sligo, the northern port of Connaught. On the eastern side of the kingdom was to be found, it was observed, a similar scope of land rendered nearly an island by the Boyne, the Barrow, and the sea. These two rivers, rising within four or five miles of one another in the Bog of Allen, and flowing respectively north and south, make their issue to the sea—the one at Drogheda, and the other at Waterford—the distance between the head waters being, at the period of the Commonwealth settlement of Ireland, an impassable bog, or continued fastness, and no passage but through such passes as could be easily secured; and the two rivers in winter overflowed, and in summer the few fords upon them readily spoiled or guarded.¹ In Henry VIII.'s day, this pass between their head waters was considered the door of the English Pale (of which O'Connor, as dwelling next to it, was by the Irish called their key),² and was closed by building the four castles of Kinnefad, Castlejordan, Ballinure, and Kishavann.³ It was now proposed that this well-secured district should become a pure English plantation, or what might more properly perhaps have been called an anti-Irish plantation, to consist altogether of English (or foreigners who were Protestants), without a single Irish tenant or servant permitted.⁴ It was only

¹ "The Great Interest of England in the well Planting of Ireland with English People Discussed," p. 21. By Colonel Richard Lawrence.

² "State Papers of Henry VIII. (Ireland)," vol. i. p. 325.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 241.

⁴ "Great Interest of England in the well Planting of Ireland with English People Discussed," p. 21.

the revival of a scheme of Richard II.'s day, who made all the Irish engage to transplant from it, and find new homes for themselves by plundering their own countrymen west of the River Barrow.¹ It was also among the projects for the new planting of Ireland in Henry VIII.'s day after Thomas Fitzgerald's rebellion. The Earl of Surrey, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, discussed with Henry VIII. the plan of planting it with foreigners, as English in sufficient numbers were not then to be had. He suggested, however, the danger, if Spaniards, Flemings, Almains, or any other nation save the king's natural subjects, were planted there, that they might retain their allegiance to their foreign sovereign.² Religion had not in 1520 created a difference between the Irish and other nations; but now, in 1553, there were foreign nations to be found, who, agreeing with the English in religion, might always be trusted to continue enemies of the Irish, and might be invited to form part of this plantation. Being nearest to the succour of England, being coasted on the east by the sea, and to be rendered defensible on the land side by a few forts upon the banks of the rivers, the plantation might easily secure itself in case of any rising of the Irish inhabitants of the two other districts.³ The third, or mixed plantation, was to be in the territories lying in the middle of Ireland, between the Irish plantation of Connaught and the pure English plantation enclosed by the Barrow and the Boyne. In this mixed plantation no transplantable persons were to be taken as tenants or servants, and only such Irish as should be in each case specially authorized by the state. The landlords were to be bound to make them speak

¹ Sir John Davis, "Discovery why Ireland was never thoroughly subdued until the Reign of King James I.," p. 615.

² "State Papers of Henry VIII. (Ireland)," vol. i., p. 79.

³ "The Great Interest of England in the well Planting of Ireland with English," p. 26.

English within a limited time, and their children were to be taught no Irish ; they were to observe the manners of the English in their habit and deportment wherein the English exceeded them. Their children were to be brought up under English Protestant schoolmasters ; they were to attend the public preaching of Protestant ministers ; they were to abandon their Irish names of Teig, and Dermot, and the like, and to call themselves by the significance of such names in English ; and for the future were to name their children with English names, especially omitting the (O') and (M') ; and, lastly, should build their houses with chimneys as English in like capacity do, and demean themselves in their lodging and other deportments accordingly.¹

IRELAND OPENED TO ALL FOREIGN PROTESTANTS ; ENGLISH PURITANS ALSO INVITED BACK FROM AMERICA.

Ireland was now like an empty hive, ready to receive a new swarm.² It was a season of blessed expectation. The English looked through both worlds for plants of a godly seed and generation to out-plant and out-grow the relics of the Irish race. "The expectation of this day," said one in his address on this subject to the Lord Protector, "is the hope of Israel. I look somewhat upon the hopeful appearance of replanting Ireland shortly, not only by the Adventurers, but haply by the calling in of exiled Bohemians and other Protestants also, but haply by the invitation of some well-affected out of the Low Countries."³ And, accordingly, by the Act of September, 1653,

¹ "The Great Interest of England in the well Planting of Ireland with English People Discussed," p. 3. By Colonel Richard Lawrence. 4to. Dublin : 1656.

² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³ "Ireland's Natural History, written by Gerard Boate, and now published by Samuel Hartlib, Esq., dedicated to his Excellency Oliver Cromwell, Captain-

they supplemented the plantation of Ireland by making all foreign Protestants as free of Ireland as natives of England.¹ But one of the earliest efforts of the government towards re-planting the parts reserved to themselves was, to turn towards the lately expatriated English in America. In the early part of the year 1651, when the country, by their own description to the Council of State, was a scene of unparalleled waste and ruin, the Commissioners for Ireland affectionately urged Mr. Harrison, then a minister of the Gospel in New England, to come over to Ireland, which he would find experimentally was a comfortable seed plot (so they said) for his labours. On his return to New England, it was hoped he might encourage those whose hearts the Lord should stir up to look back again towards their native country, to return and plant in Ireland. There they should have freedom of worship, and the [mundane] advantages of convenient lands, fit for husbandry, in healthful air, near to maritime towns or secure places, with such encouragement from the State as should demonstrate that it was their chief care to plant Ireland with a godly seed and generation.² Mr. Harrison was unable to come; but some movement appears to have been made towards a plantation from America, as proposals were received in January, 1655, for the planting of the town of Sligo and lands thereabouts, with families from New England; and lands on the Mile line, together with the two little islands called Oyster Island and Coney Island (containing 200 acres), were leased for one year, from 10th of April, 1655, for the use of such English

General, and to the Right Hon^{ble} Charles Fleetwood, Commander-in-Chief (under him) of all the Forces in Ireland." Dedication, p. 6. 4to. London: 1652.

¹ "Act for the Satisfaction of Adventurers and Soldiers." Scobell's "Acts and Ordinances."

² "Letter of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland," dated from Dublin, September 18th, 1651. A
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families as should come from New England, in America, in order to their transplantation.¹

In 1656, several families, arriving from New England at Limerick, had the excise of tobacco brought with them for the use of themselves and families remitted;² and other families in May and July of that year, who had come over from New England to plant, were received as tenants of State lands near Garristown, in the county of Dublin, about fifteen miles north of the capital.³

And who knows but the time may yet come for the government of England to turn to the lately expatriated nation of Irish which peoples the northern, southern, and western States of America, and the more ~~more~~ distant territories of Australia, and invite them "to look back again towards their native country," by changing the policy of near seven hundred years, and framing laws to promote the acquisition of Irish lands, not by English capitalists, but by the sons of Ireland?

Were some court to be again erected for the sale of lands in Ireland, offering as many millions of acres as were set up for sale by the late Incumbered Estates Court, and were due security given to the Irish, the Irish would probably be seen hastening in fleets over the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, armed with American and Australian gold, to purchase back the land of their fathers. For there be many who (like Doctor

¹ $\frac{A}{5}$, p. 78; p. 125, ib.

² $\frac{A}{10}$, p. 227.

³ "Order on the Petition of John Stone to become tenant to the state for 40 or 50 acre at Garristown, he being desirous to settle himself with the families that came over from New England to plant in this country, 5th May, 1656."

$\frac{A}{12}$, p. 9.

"Order to let to John Barker (late come from New England, and now desirous to plant here) 30 acres of the lands of Garristown, for the term of one year, paying only contribution for the same, in case they find the said Barker is willing to inhabit the same, and not to assign it to another. *Council Chamber, Dublin Castle, 30th July, 1656.*" *Ibid.*, p. 187.

Petty) had rather live on their ancient patrimonies near home, enjoy their old tried friends, and breathe their native air, than to cross oceans and pass to new climates, and have a partnership in the rich mines of Potosi.¹

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ADVENTURERS IN REPLANTING.

The Adventurers, if their presence and activity may be judged of by their proceedings against the Irish, came over after their delays—so much complained of by the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland—in 1656, and 1659. It is probable they found great difficulties interposed by the officers of the army, their rivals as planters, who had been for some years in possession of the country, and had familiarized themselves with its ways and inhabitants. And there is reason to think that many of the Irish proprietors, who had been hitherto left in possession of their lands in the Adventurers' baronies, or lingered there during the adventurers' delay in coming over, got countenance from the officers. The latter had some reason to wish them to stay; for they bore part of the assessment on account of their tillage and their cattle, and it fell heavier as the numbers to share the burden grew fewer. Even the poor wandering Ulster creaghts became objects to entice into a neighbourhood on this account; and in the orders of the Council for forcing them to give up that barbarous mode of life, wandering up and down with their families and herds of cattle in order to fix them to tillage, inquiries were often directed to know by whose encouragement they came to the other provinces.² Consequently the officers may not have been very willing to drive off the Irish proprietors occupying the Adventurers' lands in their neighbourhood. Thus William Wallace,

¹ "Reflections on some Persons and Things in Ireland," preface, p. 3, and *ibid.*, p. 183. 12mo. London: 1660.

² $\frac{A}{10}$, p. 161.

agent for the Adventurers entitled to the barony of Duleek, in the county of Meath, adjoining the town of Drogheda, in April, 1657, complained that there were Popish proprietors still remaining in the barony, and prayed that they might be transplanted into Connaught according to the proclamation. It was referred by the Council to two justices of the peace of the county of Meath to examine the allegations, and, if true, to put the declaration into due and speedy execution for removing them into Connaught.¹ The M'Coughlan's Country, formed in the reign of James I. into the barony of Garrycastle, in the King's County, was in the neighbourhood of Banagher, the navel of Ireland. The M'Coughlans of Kilcolgan were allied by marriage to the Earls of Clanricarde; their neighbour, Terence Coughlan, after acting as Commissary of the stores to the King's army in 1649 and 1650, then commanded by Ormond, Lord Lieutenant, retired in 1651 with his son Francis to Flanders, leaving his wife behind, and there died in exile. Francis served King Charles II. as captain of one of his foot regiments in Flanders.² Gregory Clements, Adventurer, had got by lot 7000 acres, plantation measure, in the barony of Garrycastle,³ and complained (7th May, 1656) that Mrs. Coughlan had kept him two years out of possession of the house and lands of Kilcolgan, and had

¹ $\frac{A}{12}$, p. 335.

² Recitals in the King's letter, of 18th December, 1660. "Book of King's Letters." Exchequer, p. 38.

³ The barony of Garrycastle, in the King's County, in the province of Leinster [as divided among the Adventurers, A. D. 1655]:—

North Quarter, No. 1.

	ACRES.
The Lord Wenman,	600
Mr. Samuel Roles,	1000
Mr. John Roles,	450
Mr. Parker,	600

delivered the possession to others—officers probably who connived at her attempt.¹ Mrs. Coughlan, after obtaining a dispensation (20th May, 1656) for six months,² was finally transplanted, and assigned lands in Galway and Mayo.³ At the Restoration, Gregory Clements suffered death as a regicide,

North Quarter, No. 1, continued.

	ACRES.
John Sadler,	100
Richard Quiney,	100
Benjamin Banister,	100
Henry Hanwell,	100
	<hr/>
	3050

South Middle Quarter, No. 3.

	ACRES.
Mr. Gregory Clements,	3000
Mr. Botterill,	50
	<hr/>
	3050

North Middle, No. 2.

	ACRES.
Mr. John Sweetinge,	400
Mr. Humphrey Markworth,	1700
Mr. John Marriott,	225
Mr. Hevingham,	600
Mr. James Coeks,	100
Mr. John Blenkhorne,	50
	<hr/>
	3075

South, No. 4.

	ACRES.
Mr. Pye,	1000
Mr. Gregory Clements,	2000
Mrs. Mary Fountaine,	2210
	<hr/>
	3210

From Joseph Hanly, Esq., 27, Lower Gardiner-street.

¹ $\frac{A}{12}$, p. 14.

² Ibid., p. 69.

³ "Petition of Mary Coghlan, widdow of Terence Coghlan of Kilcolgan, to Ormond, Lord Lieutenant," 28 August, 1663. "Carte Papers," vol. clix., 2.

and the king ordered Terence to be restored¹—but this was delayed. Meantime his mother lost her pittance in Galway by the Marchioness of Clanricarde's restoration; and all but a remnant of her final settlement in the barony of Gallen, in the county of Mayo.²

But women are always harder to deal with in ejectments than men, and two others gave the Adventurers equal trouble as Mrs. Coughlan—the one Lady Thurles, the other Lady Dunsany. The Viscountess Thurles was the Earl of Ormond's mother. She was daughter of Sir John Poyntz of Acton, in Gloucestershire. The castle and town of Thurles, with 4000 acres adjacent, was her dower land. There she had dwelt since the breaking out of the war of 1641, and had given her powerful protection to many English who fled to her friendly shelter. From 1643 to 1646 she had advanced considerable sums to the relief of the English army—£300 at one time, and £500 at another, and many other sums. When Major Peisley was forced to yield his neighbouring garrison of Archerstown to the Irish forces, and he and others of his company were wounded and much spent out and weakened, she invited him and his whole company to her house, and entertained them for many weeks, and sent them to the English garrison of Doneraile, well cured, and refreshed with supplies of moneys and provisions. But all this could not save her. She was a Papist; for Lord Ormond was the only Protestant of his family, by the accident of being made a King's ward on his father's death, and brought up in the family of Dr. Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury; and though she had shown much good affection, she had dwelt in the enemy's quarters. She

¹ Recitals in the King's Letter, of 18th December, 1660. "Book of King's Letters." Exchequer, p. 38.

² "Petition of Mary Coghlan, widow of Terence Coghlan of Kiloolgan, to Ormond, Lord Lieutenant," 28 August, 1663. "Carte Papers," vol. oix. 2.

therefore fell short of a Constant good affection ; and forfeit her dower lands she must, and by rule transplant to Connaught.¹ The barony of Eliogarty had fallen to the Adventurers ; and Mr. John Gunn, their agent, claimed the lands in the possession of the Lady Thurles, " a Popish recusant and transplantable," and urged her removal.² The lands probably the Adventurers obtained. It was not in the power of the Commissioners to refuse them ; but Lady Thurles' personal transplantation was dispensed with from time to time ; and she dwelt, perhaps, with the Marchioness of Ormond (who continued possessed of her property, though her husband's the Marquis's was confiscated), till her son returned with increased honours and power at the Restoration.

Other Adventurers, whose lots had fallen in the barony of Skreen, in the county of Meath, were anxious to plant and commence the improvement of that neighbourhood. In their lot lay the castle and lands, late the estate of Lord Dunsany.

He had taken no part with the lords and gentlemen of the Pale, beyond signing two letters of remonstrance to the Lords Justices, and protested he had no sympathy with Ireland. He said that he was an Englishman born—that his mother was an Englishwoman, his wife an Englishwoman ; that his house had been lords under the Crown of England for 300 years ; that never was there one of them disloyal ; and that four of them, Lords of Dunsany, had been killed in the field in behalf of the Crown of England. He had, in short, an Irish estate, but an English heart, and was only an Irishman in so far as he did not live in England. He held that Ireland was fit only to subserve the pride and purposes of England. To

¹ " Book of the Proceedings at the Mallow Commission, 18th July, 1656." Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

² $\frac{A}{12}$, p. 45.

use his own words, he had rather die a loyal subject and lover of the prosperity of England, even if he were hanged for it, than live in quiet, the possessor of all the north of Ireland.¹ He therefore closed the doors of Dunsany Castle as well as his ears and his heart, to the call of his country, until at length he had to listen to Cromwell bidding him begone. At Lord Dunsany's earnest prayer, however, he was allowed (9th March, 1653) to plough his forefathers' fields as tenant to the State,

¹ *Lord Dunsany's Letter.*

"**R. T. HONBLE. MY VERY GOOD LORD,**

"Forasmuch as by the accident of fortune I have been involved in a business that doth trench upon my duty and credit, which is upon the general commotion of this kingdom of Ireland. As your Lop. knows there was a great number of mistakes in the carriadge of ye cause, as was intimated by those who wished the same for their own particular ends, of which I was none, nor never will be. As for my part, I am now condemned for my slowness in following their proceedings, and am, therefore, at this house in dread of my life and goods, yet I never corresponded with their councils, parleys, meetings, or camps, other than two letters, which were sent to the Lords Justices which was for the safety of my wife, and children, and families, which Nature leads a man unto; and the reason that made me do the same was—first, I am an Englishman born, my mother an English woman, and my wife an English woman, the engraving of which did alienate my heart from their cruel and base proceedings.

"And withal the ancient loyalty my house hath borne to the Crown of England, being Lords under the same this three hundred years, and I the eleventh of the same family, and which time there was never any of them dialoyal, and withal four of them, Lords of the house, killed in the field in the behalf of the Crown of England, and every one of the rest wounded in the same service, saving my father and myself, having no occasion to be put to the same. And being seduced by sinister information that his Sacred Majesty did allow of this rash attempt which was the reason of my innocent errors concerning the same; In which I did never correspond either in particular or in general, other than when the present scourge did compell me to it.

"And now that I have seen his Sacred Majesty's Proclamation^{*} to the contrary, I am become an humble suitor to your Lordship, that out of your accustomed favour to me, you would be pleased to accept of my humble submission, to dispose of me as you shall think fit: and in the mean time to send me your

while waiting for transplantation.¹ When that day came, his wife, unable to face her bitter fate, clung with her children in frenzied despair to the seat of her former happiness.

In 1655 the Adventurers sent their agents over to Ireland ; and on the 13th July in that year they proceeded to the castle of Dunsany, accompanied by the high constable and sheriff of the county, bearing the order of the Council, and demanded entrance and possession of the place for the Adventurers. But the Lord of Dunsany's lady denied the possession unless she were forcibly carried thence. There was a pause ; probably the sheriff was friendly, and advised a delay—a report to the principals, perhaps, in London or Bristol. Next year they came themselves, Hans Graham and others ; and on the 4th July, 1656, the high constable with his force was ordered peremptorily to put the Adventurers into the quiet possession of the castle ; and Major Stanley, justice of the peace, was ordered to keep the peace there, whilst poor Lady Dunsany and her children should be removed by main force from her home by the high constable and his men.²

If rank, then, and title and English blood could not save high-born ladies from being dragged out of their homes by the Adventurers, they were not likely to treat the Irish with much

written protection and pass, being [firm] in my resolve, rather to be hanged with the imagination that I died a loyall subject and a lover of the prosperity of England, than to live in the quiet possession of all the north of Ireland ; and thus expecting your Lord. favourable answer, I rest,

" Your Lord. in all duty to be commanded,

" DUNSANY.

" To the Earl of Ormond.

" From my Lord of Dunsany,

" receaved the 11 March, 1641-2."

"Carte Papers," vol. ii., p. 271.

¹ A
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82, p. 183.

² A
—
12, p. 124.

consideration. John Pitts, of Devonshire, Adventurer, cast a lot in London, which fell to be satisfied in the county of Tipperary. Mr. Pitts came over in February, 1656, with his certificates; and, having presented them to the registrar of forfeited lands, got an order to the being put into possession of a parcel of land in the barony of Iffa and Offa, in the neighbourhood of Clonmel. Under this order he made a formal entry upon his fine rich lands of Tipperary, and then returned into England for the bringing over his family, for the planting and setting down upon his lot. On the 12th June, 1656, he came over in order to the taking up his abode in Tipperary; but was kept out of his lot by "the insolency of that Irish rebel [so he reported to the Commissioners for Ireland] that formerly held the lands," who showed some delay in turning out with his wife and daughters, to make way for him, Mr. Pitts and his establishment, from Devonshire. Mr. Pitts had recourse to the Council Board; and Richard Le Hunte, high sheriff of Tipperary, was thereupon directed to call all parties before him; and if it should appear that the said rebel, Philip O'Neale, one of the sons of Hugh O'Neale,¹ was a proprietor of that or other parcel of land, that he should take care to secure the body of the said Philip, for his not transplanting according to the rule in the Act of Parliament, in order that such proceedings might be had as should be agreeable to justice, and that the Adventurer be put into possession of the lands according to law.²

That the law in this case meant the will of the strongest, and the administering of justice meant the enforcing of that

¹ It need scarcely be mentioned that this was not the historical Hugh O'Neil, who warred against Queen Elizabeth. He was simply some proprietor of land dwelling near Clonmel, and his son Philip a rebel like the Earl of Ormond and Lord Dunsany.

² $\frac{\Delta}{12}$, p. 108.

will, was probably the reflection of Philip O'Neale in his prison hours, and afterwards as he took his way with his weeping wife and daughters to Connaught: his love for English law was probably not much increased. What protection it afforded to Mr. Pitts is not recorded; his safety (if safety he enjoyed) must have been secured by some other sanction than respect for the law and constitution of England.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE OFFICERS IN REPLANTING.

It might at first be supposed that the officers would prove harder masters than the Adventurers. But the Adventurers differed much from the officers; they were merchants and traders, full of all the ignorant prejudices of the English against the Irish, knowing no tie between man and man but interest or necessity, and unaccustomed to the management of land and tenants, which is a kind of statesmanship. The officers were accustomed to command men, and had been in Ireland near six years before the Adventurers began to come over in any numbers to take possession of their lots, and had by that time contracted ties with the Irish in many ways. After the surrender of the Irish armies, the gentry, who had almost all been officers, returned to their former neighbourhood, pending the final resolutions of the Parliament concerning their fate, and took to the tillage of their ancient inheritances for their support. Between the English officers who occupied their mansions as military posts or under *custodiums* (i. e. orders for temporary possession by the State), and the families of the former owners, many friendships must have been formed. The late proprietor and the officer had probably been often engaged in conflict; but now that the war was over, it would only the more dispose them to intercourse. Many of the officers were single men; they must have invited the family from the offices to the house, and the officer would scarce

fail to become a conquest to some of his fair captives. Just as Strongbow and his followers, captivated by Irishwomen, took wives of the native race, so did the captains and lieutenants of Cromwell's army intermarry with the Irish, and that too long before peace had been proclaimed between the armies. Spenser has dwelt upon the danger from these marriages to the English interest. An English rhymer—his contemporary in Ireland—as cynical in rhyme as the poet was in prose, has thus denounced them :—

“ We know from good experience
It is a dangerous thing
For one into his naked bed¹
A poisoning toad to bring ;

¹ Such was the custom of Europe till the 17th century. “ Our woodcut” says Mr. Wright, “ number 262” [of a young lady of high rank, with her person very much exposed], “ is a particularly good illustration of the habit which still continued in all classes and ranks of society of sleeping in bed entirely naked. The same practice is shown in our other cuts, and, indeed, in all the illuminated manuscripts of the 15th century, which contain bedroom scenes.”—“ Domestic Manners in England during the Middle Ages.” By Thomas Wright, M. A., F. S. A. Dedicated to Lady Londesborough, p. 411. Imperial 8vo. London : 1862. This custom was lately, perhaps still is in use in many parts of Ireland. Not many years since, during a trial of some Whiteboys at Clonmel, an incident was related by a witness that raised a discussion more lively than learned among the young barristers in court in the absence of the Judge at his luncheon, concerning this condition of things. Some of them, however, doubted the practice. A young constabulary officer sitting under the Bench joined in the conversation, and appealing to his brother officer, a Sub-Inspector of Police, said, “ Don’t you remember, Cox, the night we surrounded a farmer’s house at the back of the mountain of Slievenamon, where we suspected a Whiteboy on the run to be harboured ; and that they might not have time to hide him, we thundered at the door, swearing we’d break it in, and drag every soul to prison if it wasn’t opened instantly : and a fine girl, that we startled out of her bed, and nearly out of her life, opened it, holding a white plate, snatched from the dresser, before her, like the Venus de Medicis ? ”

Or else a deadly crocodile,
 When as he goeth to rest
 To lie with him ; and as his mate
 To place next to his breast."¹

As if in taking any of these charming creatures he would find he had got a crocodile for his bedfellow.

Ireton, Lord Deputy and Commander-in-Chief in 1651, therefore, had to forbid the banns; his officers and soldiers were taking Irish wives; he forbade any such marriage to any of them under pain of being cashiered.² In 1652, amongst the first plans for paying the army their arrears in land, it was suggested there should be a law that any officers or soldiers marrying Irishwomen should lose their commands, forfeit their arrears, and be made incapable to inherit lands in Ireland.³ No such provision, however, was introduced into the Act, because it provided against this danger more effectually by ordering the women to transplant, together with the whole nation, to Connaught. Those in authority, however, ought never to have let the English officers and soldiers come in contact with the Irishwomen, or have ordered another army of young Englishwomen over, if they did not intend this provision to be nugatory.

Planted in a wasted country amongst the former owners and their families, with little to do but to make love, and no lips to make love to but Irish, love with all its consequences must follow between them as necessarily as a geometrical conclusion follows from the premises. For there were but few who (in the language of a Cromwellian patriot),

—“rather than turne
 From English principles, would sooner burne;

¹ Derrick's "Image of Ireland," A. D. 1581. Somers' "Tracts," p. 573.

² $\frac{A}{84}$, p. 341.

³ $\frac{A}{2}$, p. 286.

And rather than marrie an Irish wife,
Would batchellers remain for tearme of life."¹

The strongest proofs of the frequency of these intermarriages are the various orders putting in force the provisions of Ireton's proclamation over officers still in the service.² Over those who were disbanded and set down on their lots they had no control, and these formed a very large proportion of the army.

But even with an English wife the captain's family planted in Ireland soon degenerated or grew Irish. The process has been sketched from the life, and been mourned over by a Cromwellian soldier. He shows by what means the captain wrung from his neighbour and former comrade in the war, the poor soldier, his allotment of debenture land. "Thus Ireland was reduced," he begins:—

" But let's see how
The gallant souldiers are requited now.
Some private souldiers were by their commanders
Chous'd of their land, and packed away to Flanders ;

¹ "The Moderate Cavalier; or, the Soldier's Description of Ireland. A Book fitt for all Protestants Houses in Ireland." 4to. Printed [at Cork, apparently], 1675.

² Commissioners of the Revenue of the precinct of Galway to examine what civil or other officers within that precinct are married to Irish Papists, and to certify their names and employments, respectively, forthwith to the Commissioners of the Commonwealth. *January, 1654.* ^A
85 p. 28.

"Whereas we are informed that William Moreton, now Clerk to the Commissioners of Revenue at Wexford hath maried a Papist (contrary to the tenor of the declaration in that behalf), whereby he hath made himself incapable of continuing in his said employment; and forasmuch as there is recommended to us one Rowland Samuell, that hath a charge of wife and family, that is a person able and faithful to officiate in his stead; it is ordered that the said William Moreton be dismissed his said employment from the date hereof, and that the said Rowland Samuell do serve the said place in his room. *Dublin, 14th July,* 1654.

"CHARLES FLEETWOOD.

MILES CORBET."

And he that would not go, but thought to stay,
And live on's land they found another way :"

The captain worries him with law,

" Whereby the fruits

Of all his hopes, his labour, and his land,
He spends at law, his captain to withstand.
Wearied at law, to purchase peace at last,
He sells his land, and then that danger's past.
Now while his money lasts, or some short space,
His captain makes him serjeant of the place.¹
But this ne'er holds ; for he, with cap in hand,
To 's captain's wife cannot at all turns stand ;
Nor can he Irish speak to buy and sell,
Nor tenants can procure with them to dwell."²

The Irish retainers now win their way to the good graces of the captain and his wife by their hearty manners, and supplant the English servants by their fondness for the children, and by the cheaper rate they are ready to serve at. The services of the poor soldier against the Irish are forgotten, his faults and blemishes only remembered :—

—“ for he looks for cates,
They say : is too fine mouthed ; and at the rates

¹ “ To all Xtian people to whom these presents shall come Greeting, know ye that Wee have conferred upon Jasper White, one of our servants, the office or place of Serjeant or bailiffe of Kilfekill, in the county of Tipperary, to Have and to Hould the said office of Serjeant, in as large, ample, and beneficial manner as any other bailiffe formerly exercising the said office held and enjoyed the same, together with all perquisitts and profitts thereunto belonging, and to continue therein during our pleasure. In witness whereof wee have hereunto sett our hand and seale, this 25th November, 1645.

“ Carte Papers,” v. clxiv., 34.

“ ORMONDE.”

Again—“ Butler prevailed upon Sir Thomas Prendergast, Bart., to turn off one Kelly who was Serjeant, and took care of his woods ; and having appointed a Serjeant of his own, he and his agents cut, of 26,000 trees all but 2500 trees.” Theobald Butler, Appellant, against Sir Thomas Prendergast, Bart., Respondent.” 4th Brown’s “Parliamentary Cases,” p. 174 (A. D. 1720).

² “ The Moderate Cavalier,” A. D. 1675.

The Irish do can't live. Give them potatos,
 They'll boil and roast ; then stroke up their mustachoes.¹
 This makes them Teige employ, 'cause he will serve
 For less than English can, so they must starve.
 Then out he's turned, and in comes Teige in 's room.—
 Now Irish Teige is just to the Captain's mind—
 Whate'er his master says he'll swear. So kind,
 Besides, he proves to the children of his master,
 That when the maid chides them, he swears he'll baste her.
 With " *Voarneen glagel*,"² and " *Agramaeres*,"³
 He takes his master's son upon his knee.
 And then Teige laughs and swears by 's gossip's hand
 His father's son's the best in all Ireland.
 This pleases so the mother of the child,
 That all Teige does is well. She's so beguiled

¹ Spenser noted this as among the Spanish and Moorish customs he found prevalent in Ireland. "And this was the auncient manner of the Spaniards, as it yet is of the Mahometans, to cut off all their beards close, save only their mustachios, which they wear long. And the cause is for that they, being bred in a hot country, found much haire on their faces and other parts to be noyous unto them, for which cause they did cut it most away like as contrarily in all other nations brought up in cold countries do use to nourish their haire, to keepe them the warmer, which was the reason that the Scythians and Scots wore glibbes to keep their heads warm, and long beards to defend their faces from cold." "A View of the State of Ireland," by Edmund Spenser, A. D. 1596, p. 483. "Tracts and Treatises concerning Ireland." Alex. Thom & Son, 8vo. Dublin: 1860. An Irish Statute, 25 Hen. VI, c. 20 [A. D. 1447], unpublished, forbids crommeal (or moustache). It appears that English living in the marches or borders dressed like the Irish, and thus, by colour of being Englishmen, the Irish had opportunity to rob, &c.; wherefore it was ordained that no manner of man who would be accepted for an Englishman have any beard above the mouth, that is to say, that he have no hair upon his upper lip, so that the said lip be shaven once at least within two weeks, or of equal growth with the nether lip; and if any man be found among the English contrary hereunto, it may be lawful for every man to take them and their goods as Irish enemies, and to hold them to ransom as Irish enemies." Transcribed and translated by the Irish Record Commissioners, 1810-1825.

² My bright love.

³ My heart's darling.

With flattering, that now Teige's wife must nurse
 The next child she shall have. Teige swears his purse
 Shall be the child's. Now that he's foster father,
 Not for his own, but for this child he 'll gather ;
 He 'll give the child a '*Coat-i-bawn of bandle*,'¹
 And buy it '*Brogal gaulda*,'² and then dandle
 The babe in 's arms, crying '*Shane pogé*,'³ '*Cade pogé*.'⁴
 '*Vic a me vaister*'⁵—'*Nah touse Shane oge*'⁶
 '*You tow Lawnah*.' This pleases more and more ;
 Teige's now of kin that was not so before.
 Who now but Teige ? His counsel so prevails,
 That all the English servants by his tales
 Are threatened to be turned away : his cozins
 Come flocking round about him by whole dozens.
 Donagh the groom steps in in Richard's place,
 And Shevane oge doth turn out gentle Grace ;
 Then Gilla Patrick, Hugh, and the Mac Roris,
 Are sent for home who 're out among the Tories.
 The English neighbours (undegenerate),
 These furies cause their fosterer to hate ;
 Do trespass on their land, and drive to pound
 The honest men's cattle off their own ground.
 To law they go. Now all things are in fitness,
 And right or wrong, Teige is the captain's witness."

Vain, therefore, were Sir Jerome Alexander's measures to keep his posterity English, notwithstanding all the praises bestowed upon them. This spiteful Englishman, Judge of the Common Pleas in Ireland, left his daughter and heiress the beautiful Abbey of Kilcooley, in the county of Tipperary, and all his estate there, but made the gift void by his will (A. D. 1670), if she married any Irishman, were he Archbishop, Bishop, Peer, or Prelate, or Irish Baronet, Knight, or Squire ;

¹ A white petticoat of bandle cloth.

² English brogues or shoes.

³ Give me a kiss.

⁴ An hundred kisses.

⁵ Dear son of my master.

⁶ Are 'nt you young John ? "The Moderate Cavalier; or, Souldiers Description of Ireland." A. D. 1675.

⁷ You shall get it, my pet.

or any man born or bred there, or of Irish extraction, or having his relations or means of subsistence there. For English pride and reserve, it has been long observed, dissolves in Ireland like ice in the genial western breeze.¹

THE OFFICERS TAKE THE OLD PROPRIETORS AS THEIR
TENANTS.

The officers immediately upon obtaining a lease or *custodium* from the State (pending the preparation of the law that gave them land for their arrears), took the Irish as tenants for want of English; for in a country where lands were to be had for the asking, no one would come from a better country to a worse, to labour as a servant or tenant on another man's lands, when he might till or pasture his own. As the impossibility of getting English tenants grew more evident, and the urgent want of tillage increased, the officers in Limerick, Cork, Kerry, and

¹ About forty years after the Cromwellian Settlement, and just seven years after the Battle of the Boyne, the following was written: "We cannot so much wonder at this [the quick "degenerating" of the English of Ireland], when we consider how many there are of the children of Oliver's soldiers in Ireland who cannot speak one word of English. And (which is strange) the same may be said of some of the children of King William's soldiers who came but t'other day into the country. This misfortune is owing to the marrying Irishwomen for want of English, who come not over in so great numbers as are requisite. 'Tis sure that no Englishman in Ireland knows what his children may be as things are now; they cannot well live in the country without growing Irish; for none take such care as Sir Jerome Alexander [second Justice of the Common Pleas, in Ireland from 1661 to his death in 1670], who left his estate to his daughter, but made the gift void if she married any Irishman;" Sir Jerome including in this term 'any lord of Ireland, any archbishop, bishop, prelate, any baronet, knight, esquire, or gentleman of an Irish extraction or descent, born and bred in Ireland, or having his relations and means of subsistence there,' and expressly, of course, any 'Papist.'" "True Way to render Ireland Happy and Secure; or, a Discourse wherein 'tis shown that 'tis the Interest both of England and Ireland to encourage Foreign Protestants to plant

various counties, got general orders, giving dispensations from the necessity of planting with English tenants, and liberty to take Irish. The proprietors who had established friendships with their conquerors secretly became tenants under them to parts of their former estates, ensuring thereby the connivance of their new landlords against their transplantation.

On the 1st June, 1655, the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland (Fleetwood, Lord Deputy, one of them), being then at Limerick, discovered this fraud. "We found the officers," they said, "objecting in several places that some of our own orders obstructed the work of transplantation." They were made on behalf of Sir W. Fenton, Sir Hardress Waller, and other English proprietors. The words of the orders were so penned as gave them liberty to keep Irish proprietors on their estates. But the words were disowned by the Council as not within their intention. "I clearly see," he concludes, "that we must encounter more and more difficulties when the Adventurers and Soldiers are in possession. But if the Lord hath

in Ireland; in a Letter to the Hon. Robert Molesworth." 4to. Dublin. Andrew Crook. 1697.

It is not a little curious to find Irish harpers in their houses within five years of their planting. In 1663 the army lately planted in Ireland formed a plot to seize the Castle of Dublin, and to overthrow the government, being discontented at the proceedings of the Court of Claims. Amongst the vast mass of intelligence furnished to the Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant, is the following conversation between Colonel Edward Warren and an Irish harper:—

"Colonel Edward Warren, being at Rathmolyon in the barony of Moyfengragh, in the county of Meath, discoursing with Richard Malone, a blind harper, aged thirty-six years, asked him how many governments he remembered in his tyme? Malone answered that he remembered several, naming the several alterations during these twenty-one years. Whereunto the said Warren answered, that before it were long he might add one more government to the rest." "Carte, MSS., vol. G. G., p. 389. Endorsed in the Duke's hand: "Concerning Colonel Edward Warren." Warren was executed with Major Alexander Jephson, 15th July, 1663. Their dying speeches are given, *ibid.*, vol. vii., Ireland, pp. 248, 249.

not a farther scourge for us here, he will strengthen our hands to the carrying it out."¹ They, accordingly, issued a peremptory order revoking all former dispensations for English proprietors to plant with Irish tenants; and they enjoined upon the Governor of Limerick and all other officers the removing of the proprietors thus sheltered and their families into Connaught, on or before that day three weeks.² But, happily, all penal laws against a nation are difficult of execution. The officers still connived with many of the poor Irish gentry, and sheltered them, which caused Fleetwood, then Commander of the Parliament forces in Ireland, upon his return to Dublin, and within a fortnight after the prescribed limit for their removal was expired, to thunder forth from Dublin Castle a severe reprimand to all officers thus offending. Their neglect to search for and apprehend the transplantable proprietors was denounced as a great dishonour and breach of discipline of the army; and their entertaining any of them as tenants was declared a hindrance to the planting of Ireland with English Protestants. "I do therefore [the order continued] hereby order and declare, that if any officer or soldier under my command shall offend by neglect of his duty in searching for and apprehending all such persons as by the declaration of 30th November, 1654, are to transplant themselves into Connaught; or by entertaining them as tenants on his lands, or as servants under him, he shall be punished by the articles of war as negligent of his duty, according to the demerit of such his neglect."³

¹ July 4th, 1655, Thurloe's "State Papers, vol. iv., p. 612. ² $\frac{A}{6}$, p. 173.

³ "Book of Printed Declarations of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland" (formerly belonging to General Fleetwood). British Museum, 8o6 h. 14.

OF THE FIVE COUNTIES.

But, to turn to that district included within the Boyne and the Barrow, on the east coast of Ireland, which was to be a pure English plantation, to counterbalance the Irish one on the west, encircled by the Shannon and the sea, and to become a new English Pale—here, if anywhere, would be established that model of English life and manners, the great object of all the inhuman laws enacted for so many ages by the government. But first a word upon the extent of the district. It was contracted to narrower limits. Upon consideration that the land lying north of Dublin, between the Liffey and the Boyne, was the ancient residence of the English—the best tillage and grazing land in the kingdom, and part of that level plain that extended itself from the walls of Dublin to the base of the Fews mountains that overhang Dundalk, without any fastnesses for Irish to harbour in—it was not thought necessary to keep that part within the scheme, and so much of the original plan was abandoned. It was now confined to that part of the county of Dublin lying south of the River Liffey, with the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Kildare, and Carlow. Thenceforth the territory was known as the Five Counties south of the Liffey and within the Barrow, or (shortly) the Five Counties. On 17th July, 1654, it was ordered that all this territory should be wholly transplanted of Irish Papists by the 1st of May, 1655, on pain of being taken as spies, and proceeded with before a court martial. The English proprietors, many of them officers who had received lands in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford for their arrears, fearing to be deprived of their tenants and servants, and left without means to till their lands or save their crops, presented petitions to the government against the measure, as the time for carrying out the order approached. Mr. Annesly, who brought up the pe-

titions, was directed to be present at a meeting of the Council on 19th February, 1655, to offer what he conceived to be material in their support.¹ He urged that the English and Protestant proprietors and planters in the Five Counties were necessitated to employ Irish in their tillage and husbandry, to make some profit of their lands, which had long lain waste by the rebellion. After several debates he obtained an order of reference to Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Axtell, Colonel Lawrence, and others, to consider what parts should be totally cleared of Irish; in what parts should be allowed such Irish tenants as, being neither proprietors nor swordmen, might be dispensed from transplantation; and how the rest might be laid waste; and how the towns and villages where such Irish should be suffered to inhabit might be disposed of with most security and least offence to the neighbouring English.² The order, however, was not withdrawn; for on the 21st May, 1655, the clearing was suspended until 1st August following, in order that the proprietors might have time to provide themselves with English and Protestant tenants, and in the meantime might have tenants and servants to reap their harvest. But English tenants and servants were not to be had, and the officers and the other planters were loth to lose their Irish ones: they connived at their stay beyond the 1st of August, and finally got liberty to keep a selection of them approved by Commissioners specially appointed by the State, on some very stringent conditions. The proprietor was to engage that such tenants and servants as he should be permitted to retain should become Protestants (and Protestants of whose real conversion the government could be satisfied) in six months; and as evidence of their candid and genuine compliance with being instructed in the true Protestant religion, they were to come

¹ $\frac{\text{A}}{5}$, p. 37.

² $\frac{\text{A}}{5}$, p. 95.

to the meeting-house to hear the Word every Lord's Day, if within four miles; upon every other Lord's Day, if within six miles; if further, once a month. Their children were to learn the catechism in the English tongue, without book, which the minister should teach.¹ But the government seem to have forgotten the naming of the children with English names, instead of Dermot and Teig; and the chimneys, and the English deportment in houses, lodging, and manners, wherein the English exceeded them.² But probably there was about as much use in the one as the other. The landlords wanted their labour, and not English piety or Anglo-Saxon elegance. For though the letter of one of the officers remains, requesting the prayers of their friends, that now they had come to possess houses they had not built, and vineyards they had not planted, they might not forget the Lord and his goodness to them in the day of their distress,³ one that knew them well a few years later said, he had hunted with them, diced with them, drunk with them, and fought with them, but had never prayed with them;⁴ and another, that an Irish Protestant was a man who ate meat of a Friday, and hated a Papist.⁵

¹ "Book of Printed Declarations by the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland." British Museum, ^{806 h. 14.} ₂₄.

² P. 248, *supra*.

³ "Letter of Colonel William Allen, Adjutant-General of the Army, and Commissioner of Cromwell's Court of Claims in Ireland," dated April 6th, 1654. Thurloe's "State Papers," vol ii., p. 214.

⁴ "Civil Wars of Ireland." By W. Cooke Taylor, LL. D., vol. ii., p. 64, n. 3. Two vols. 12mo. London : 1830.

⁵ A Bandon Protestant, known to be such, "'cause I ates meat of a Friday, and hates a Papist." "History of Bandon," by George Bennett, B. A., p. 352. 12mo. Cork : 1862.

**THE TOWNS CLEARED OF OLD ENGLISH, FOR FRESHER
ENGLISH TO INHABIT.**

The Parliament, by the Act of 26th September, 1653, for satisfying the Adventurers, the army, and the public creditors, reserved all the forfeited property in cities and boroughs for the State. In the early part of the war, in hopes to induce merchants and traders, English and foreign (provided they were Protestants), to whom houses in seaport towns were more useful than lands, to advance funds, the Parliament of England offered the principal seaport towns in Ireland for sale; Limerick, with 12,000 acres contiguous, for £30,000, and a rent of £625 payable to the State; Waterford, with 1500 acres contiguous, at the same rate; Galway, with 10,000 acres, for £7500, and a rent of £520; Wexford, with 6000 acres, for £5000, and a rent of £156 4s. 4d.¹ But this offer, though tempting, found no bidders: all these towns were still in the possession of the Irish, and merchants of all others are least inclined to buy the bear's skin before the bear be dead. The cities and towns, accordingly, fell into the hands of the Parliament of England, with all their inhabitants, the population being almost entirely of English descent.²

Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, were built by the Danes.³ The Irish ever loved the freedom of the fields and hills. And it has been the complaint (of those who wished to take their lands or to tax their labour), that they never gave themselves up to commerce or trade. But in early times trade is usually driven by foreign exiles or do-

¹ Ordinance of 14th July, 1643. Scobell's "Acts and Ordinances," p. 74.

² Take Waterford:—"This sea-town hath no naturall Irish in it, nor would admit any in during these troubles." "News from Dublin," 9th June, 1647, "Perfect Diurnall of Passages in Parliament," p. 1629.

³ Giraldus Cambrensis, "Topographia," cap. xlivi.

mestic slaves. Strong nations, with all the arrogance of the powerful, take from those they are pleased to call inferior races (being such only as they expect no retribution from) their country, under the splendid pretext of civilizing them. And to deprive them of friends, and aid, and sympathy, they represent them as irreligious, unruly, and unreasoning. In later periods the rich repair to the country, and drive out the rural inhabitants into the crowded suburbs of cities and towns, under the plea of improving it. The Irish would neither give up the country nor become slaves. Indeed, the foreigners who built or inhabited the towns would not allow them to come into them, had they been so inclined. In every Charter of Incorporation of towns the Irish were forbidden to hold office, or occupy a house. Consequently the inhabitants in 1641 were all of English blood. But now to be of the new English religion was held equivalent to being an Englishman; to belong to the old, still in general use in Ireland, and introduced originally by the English, was to be Irish. And, under this distinction, the Parliament of England determined to clear all the towns of Ireland within their power of their former inhabitants, though English by blood, and repeople them afresh with English of the birth of England. The towns were at this time ruinous by the death or desertion of the inhabitants.

Upon the outbreak in Ulster the old English gentry of the Pale fled to Dublin; but they were ordered back to their country seats, and thus forced to join the Irish, and were not again admitted, as the kingdom now became two camps. The burgess class, however, were left for a time in some of the towns, and remained faithful to their blood and national traditions, and hated and despised the Irish with true English heart. They thus were continued in Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, until turned out by Inchiquin in 1644 (among their enemies,

as they called the Irish),¹ and in Dublin and Drogheda, until 1647, when Ormond gave up Dublin and the sword, when they were immediately expelled. This caused all these cities and towns to become ruinous. But Dublin had already become partially ruinous in 1645 ; and Ormond had to issue a proclamation (7 Feb. 1644-5), ordering the soldiers on pain of death to cease from pulling down the deserted houses to make fires of with the timber, in their guards and quarters.² To these ruins must be added those commanded by Ormond himself in 1646, when, having taken the field to oppose the advance of Owen O'Neil's forces on Dublin, he wrote back to the council, (October 9th, 1646), in anticipation of being forced to retreat thither (as soon after occurred), that the walls should be cleared of all incumbrances, and a way be made beside them, both without and within, that at least a troop of horse, twenty in front, might commodiously travel and serve.³ Every one was ordered to join in the work ; and the Marchioness of Ormond herself carried baskets of earth for repairing the fortifications,⁴ and the women all,

“From ladies down to oyster wenches,
Laboured like pioneers in trenches.”

When Ormond, in the following year, gave up the city to the Parliament, so rigorous was the expulsion of the Irish inhabitants, that Colonel Michael Jones, the Governor, made no exception but of Sir Thomas Sherlock, and he was only to stay till he could ship himself for England. This signal favour he owed to his having hunted and hanged 100 Irish marauders in December, 1641, in company with Sir W. St. Leger, and defended his Castle of Butlerstown, adjacent to the

¹ *Supra*, pp. 174, 175.

² Broadsides, in the Haliday Library, Royal Irish Academy.

³ “Carte Papers,” vol. xix., 64.

⁴ Carte's “Life of Ormond,” vol. i., p. 585. Folio edition.

city of Waterford, against Lord Mountgarret's Irish forces, until they took it, and stripped him of all, and turned him out of doors in his slippers without stockings, leaving him only a red cap and green mantle, so that himself, lady, and children, had not so much as their wearing clothes left, nor any relief, but depended solely on their friends. His losses amounted to £4000. Six weeks after he escaped by night to Dublin in a bare suit and mantle, and there was received by the English as one that had been their constant friend. Even Cromwell (with whom he returned to Ireland), pitied him, but could not help him; for he had signed the roll of Association, though only by force of imprisonment, and in order to escape. He would have given him back his estate, but could not:—it had passed to the Soldiers.¹ Nor could the King, who said he held himself bound in honour and justice to see him restored:² nor did the Act of Settlement, which provided for his restitution.³ Worn out by poverty and despair, he soon died broken-hearted, and his son (9 December, 1663), had allowance from the Council of the small sum he borrowed to bury him.⁴ If the cities and towns were made thus ruinous within, their desolation without was as signal. By the order of 29 April, 1651, all the habitations of the Irish within a circle of two miles

¹ "Report of Cooke, Santhy, and Halsey, Athlone Commissioners, to the Council of Ireland," dated 26th April, 1656; and "The Council of Ireland to the Lord Protector," 22nd July, 1656, Thurlow's "State Papers," vol. v., p. 238.

² "King's Letter to Lords Justices of Ireland," October 10th, 1660. "Carte Papers," vol. xli., 54.

³ He was one of the thirty-six Nominees in "the King's Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland," of 30th November, 1660, embodied in the Act of Settlement, 14 & 15 Charles II. (A. D. 1662), chap. 2.

⁴ Treasurer of Ireland's account, Vol. i., p. 343. "To Paul Sherlock, sonn and heire of Sir Thomas Sherlock, deceased, for defraying the charges of burying the said Sir Thomas, as Concordatum, dated 9 December, 1663, £50."

round any garrison were thrown down, and no Irish suffered to inhabit within these precincts. And the wives and children of any Irish without were to quit in fifteen days at latest, and join their husbands; and any outstaying this time, or repairing thither were to be treated as spies and enemies, and to suffer death.¹ And to harbour a friend was death.

Thus, at a Court Martial held 23rd September, 1652, at Dublin Castle, under the presidency of Colonel Arnop, Dudley Loftus, Advocate-General, being informant, and Murtagh Cullen and wife, defendants, it was put to the vote whether it appeared upon the evidence that one Donogh O'Derg had been harboured by the said Cullen and his wife? It was resolved in the Affirmative, and Decreed that they should suffer death; but both parties after sentence pronounced were permitted to cast lots, when the Lot of Life fell to the said Murtagh, and the Lot of Death to his wife, who, being with child, was reprieved until the time of her delivery.² During the war many Irish were continued under protection in the towns—not to increase the enemy; but, the war once over, the Parliament resolved to clear them thoroughly, and re-people them from England.

At the same time that proprietors and swordmen were to transplant to Connaught, the Burgher Irish were ordered to quit the towns, and (unless transplantable to Connaught) to

¹ "A Declaration for the removing of the Wives, Children, and Families of such persons as are in rebellion, or live in the Enemies Quarters, out of the garrisons of the Parliament, and demolishing all Cabins and Huts in or near the said garrisons. By the Commissioners of the Parliament for the Affairs of Ireland."

"Dated at Kilkenny, 28th April, 1651.

Signed, "EDMUND LUDLOW.

JOHN JONES.

"MILES CORBET.

JOHN WEAVER."

"Several Proceedings in Parliament, &c.," p. 1456.

² Dudley Loftus, MSS., St. Patrick's Cathedral Library (Marsh's), Dublin, v. 3, 2, 19.

seek new dwellings, at least two miles distant from the walls.

In 1654, by order of the Committee of Transplantation, no Irish or Papists were to be allowed in the city of Kilkenny after the 1st of May, except necessary labourers and artificers, not exceeding forty, and these to be persons not within the rule of transplantation.¹

On the 8th of July in the same year the Governor of Clonmel was authorized to grant dispensations to forty-three persons, in a list annexed, or as many of them as he should think fit, being artificers and workmen, to stay for such time as he might judge convenient, the whole time not to exceed the 25th March, 1655.² On 5th June, 1654, the Governor of Dublin was authorized to grant licenses to such inhabitants to continue in the city (notwithstanding the declaration for all Irish to quit) as he should judge convenient, the licenses to contain the name, age, colour of hair, countenance, and stature of every such person; and the license not to exceed twenty days, and the cause of their stay to be inserted in each license.³ Petitions went up from the old native inhabitants of Limerick,⁴ from the fishermen of Limerick;⁵ from the Mayor and inhabitants of Cashel,⁶ who were all ordered either to withdraw to a distance of at least two miles (if not transplantable), or to transplant; but, notwithstanding these orders, many of them still clung about the towns, sheltered by the English, who found the benefit of their services.

Whilst the gentry were hurried off from their mansions and demesnes, which the officers and soldiers were in haste to enjoy and were obliged to transplant to such pittance of land as should be assigned to them in Connaught, the population of

¹ $\frac{A}{85}$, p. 157.
⁴ Ib., p. 244.

² Ib., p. 479.
⁵ Ib., p. 363.

³ Ib., p. 430.
⁶ Ib., p. 247.

the towns who lived by trade or labour, such as apothecaries, basketmakers, butchers, bakers, carpenters, chandlers, coopers, harnessmakers, masons, shoemakers, and tailors, continued to reside upon their holdings and make themselves useful to their new masters. What little trade or commerce was driven in these poor ruinous towns, the seats of former activity and plenty, was done by them as factors or agents for English officers, as having more skill and experience in foreign traffic, the towns being for the most part occupied by strangers, who had come thither, induced by getting houses for nothing.¹ Thus, on the 15th of May, 1655, the Protestant inhabitants of Kilkenny petitioned against this practice; and it was ordered by the Commissioners of the Parliament "for the better encouragement of an English plantation in the City and Liberties," that all the houses and lands lately belonging to the Irish, and now in the possession of the State, should be thenceforth demised to Protestants and none others, and that no English merchants or traders should drive any trade or merchandize in the City or Liberties by Irish agents or servants; and that all Irish should quit Kilkenny within twenty days, except such artificers as four Justices of Peace should, for the convenience of that Corporation, license to stay for any period not exceeding one year.²

Applications were frequently made in favour of some who were found particularly useful. Thus, on the 20th March, 1654, on the certificate of Colonel W. Leigh and other officers within the precinct of Waterford, Dr. Richard Madden was dispensed with from transplantation into Connaught; but as to

¹ "The Roman Catholics of Ireland, their Answers relating to the Proposals offered in order to the Settlement of Ireland by the Commissioners from the Convention in Ireland in 1660." "Carte Papers," vol. xlviii., 6th Paper.

² $\frac{A}{6}$, p. 367.

his desire of residing in Waterford, it was referred to Colonel Lawrence, the governor there, to consider if he conceived it fit his request should be granted.¹ On the 12th September, 1656, application was made to the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland on behalf of Dr. Anthony Mulshinogue, whose good affection to the English by his faithful advice and assistance in his profession was proved on the trial of the qualifications of the ancient natives of Cork, by the certificate of Sir W. Fenton and Major-General Jephson, and several other persons of quality in the county of Cork, who prayed for his dispensation from transplantation, desiring that his residence among them might be permitted, being destitute of physicians of his ability. Dr. Mulshinogue was spared from transplantation, and was permitted to follow his practice in those parts, but not to dwell in any garrison there.²

Yet the officers, when they first arrived, vented their calumnies (according to the national custom) against the Irish physicians—writing to their friends in England in 1651, that for want of a sufficient number of English doctors for the army, they were obliged to put themselves in the hands of Irish, “which was more [so they maliciously said] than the adventures in the field.”³ Testimony, however, to the ability and integrity of this profession came, as if to confute these calumnies. In Limerick, Doctor Thomas Arthur was, at this very time, attending Colonel Henry Ingoldsby, Cromwell’s kinsman (high in command there), and most of the officers of the Parliament army.⁴ After studying at Bordeaux, Rheims, and Paris, he returned to his native town. On 6 November, 1619, he visited Dublin in the train of the Earl of Thomond,

¹ A
85, p. 184.

² A
12 p. 223.

³ “Whitelock’s Memorials,” January, 1650–1, p. 436.

⁴ “Limerick, its History and Antiquities,” p. 183, n. By Maurice Lenihan, Esq. 8vo. Hodges and Smith. Dublin : 1866.

and acquired such reputation that after his return home he was frequently sent for to come up to Dublin, and there attended Sir George Sexton, Viscount Dunluce (father of the Marquis of Antrim), Chief Justice Sarsfield, and others of the highest rank. He went to Carrickfergus at the call of Sir Arthur Chichester, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, to visit his wife, dying of dropsy.¹ He was of old English blood—his ancestors had come in at the Conquest;² and he was loyal to those that the Irish deemed their oppressors and tyrants. For this reason, in 1642, he was plundered, and fled into Limerick, as Dublin was too far off to be reached without danger to his life from the Irish. But he got license from the Marquis of Ormond and Sir John Parsons to dwell in Limerick, though then rebels' quarters. He was driven thence by affronts, and forced to shelter himself elsewhere. He was excommunicated by the Irish national clergy in 1650, and put in prison for counselling the men of Limerick to be loyal.³ On 21 July, 1656, in consideration of his great sufferings and his good services to the English, and having parted with divers good houses and castles in the counties of Limerick, Tipperary, and Dublin, the Lord Deputy and Council recommended him to the Loughrea Commissioners for an assignment of land with a house on the Belt or Mile Line round Connaught, for his present subsistence and comfort of living.⁴ When Dublin was cleared, Colonel Hewson was Governor of that city—one of the most religious men in the army (as ap-

¹ "Fee-Book of a Physician of the 17th century." By Maurice Lenihan, Esq., Author of the "History of Limerick."—"Kilkenny Archaeological Journal," vol. v., New Series (January, 1867). p. 10.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Petition of Thomas Arthur, Doctor in Physic, to the King. 24 September, 1664." "Collections relating to the Acts of Settlement," vol. D., p. 212. Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

⁴ A
30, p. 169.

pears by the amount of Bible quotations in his letters), and therefore fullest of hatred against the Irish. The last Papist that dared to meet his eye in Dublin was a chirurgeon, a peaceable man.¹ Similar calumnies followed the poor Irish midwives: imputations against their want of skill are mixed with suggestions of danger to Englishwomen in labour, and children in the birth, "from the evil disposition and disaffection, as might be presumed," of the Irish midwives. And Dr. Petty and others were ordered to consider of the evil, and propose a remedy.² And when an English midwife arrived in Dublin, all officers, civil and military, were ordered for her encouragement to be aiding and assisting her in the performance of her duty.³

" 19 June, 1651.

" Mr. Winter, a godly man, came with the Commissioners, and they flock to hear him with great deaire; besides, there is in Dublin, since January last, about 750 Papists forsaken their priests and the masse, and attends the public ordinances, I having appointed Mr. Chambers, a minister, to instruct them at his own house once a week. They all repaire to him with much affection and desireth satiafaction. And though Dublin hath formerly swarmed with Papists, I know none (now) there, but one who is a chirurgeon, and a peaceable man. It is much hoped the glad tidings of salvation will be acceptable in Ireland, and that this savage people may see the salvation of God; which that the Lord may accomplish shall be the desire of

" Your loving friend,

" JOHN HEWSON."

" Several Proceedings in Parliament, from 26th of June to 3rd day of July, 1651," p. 1412.

² A
5, p. 317.

³ " By the Commissioners of Parliament for the Affairs of Ireland.

" Whereas we are informed by divers persons of repute and godliness, that Mrs. Jane Preswick hath through the blessing of God been very successful within Dublin and parts about, through the carefull and skillfull discharge of her midwife's duty, and instrumental to helpe sundry poore women who needed her helpe, which hathe abounded to the comfoure and preservation of many English women, who (being come into a strange countrey) had otherwise been destitute of due helpe, and necessitated to expose their lives to the mercy of Irish midwives, ignorant in the profession, and bearing little good will to any

These orders for clearing the towns had to be frequently renewed, as the inhabitants were wont to creep back again when the storm had blown over. In the year 1656 there was a printed declaration published, renewing the order that all Irish and Papists withdraw to a distance of two miles from all walled towns or garrisons before 26th of the May in that year, which seems to have been executed with more rigour than usual; for on the 2nd of August the Mayor of Dublin was directed to report the progress made, because many transplantable persons, owners of houses in the city, still lingering in Dublin, were found on the 18th July to have refused to give up their houses to the new English lessees of the State. On 24th October the Mayor was directed to take effectual means to remove all that might be then dwelling in the city, and all places within the line, within forty-eight hours after publication of the order.¹ And on 19th November a list of the names of all not removing was returned to the Council, with the view of ordering them for trial by court martial.

The government, however, though baffled, still kept the great work in view. On 31st December, 1656, finding that

of the English nation. And taking notice through divers examinations and depositions extant, that this Mrs. Preswick hath of late received divers publique affronts, and that violence hath been used by some evil disposed persons, to her great horror and discouragement, whereby she hath lost opportunities of giving desired helpe to women in labour of child birth, and through those affrights is become timorous, and consequently less able to exercise the midwife's function, much to the dissatisfaction of divers; these are therefor to declare that in case any person shall offer any affront or violence for the future to the said Mrs. Preswick, alias Beere, in her daily going up and down to perform her publicque trust and office of midwife as aforesaid, such persons are to expect a severe proceeding with according to law. And all justices of the peace, officers civil and military, and others concerned, are to take notice, and be ayding and assisting to her in the performance of her duty as aforesaid. *Dublin, 23rd May, 1655.*

"THOMAS HERBERT, Clerk of the Council."

^A
5, p. 166.

^A
5, p. 264.

divers Irish transplantable into Connaught had not only neglected to remove, but had continued to reside, or had intruded themselves into sundry cities, walled towns, and garrisons throughout this nation, they issued several special orders, directed to the governors of the several cities, towns, and garrisons in the three provinces, to send up lists of the names of all such persons, in order probably to the arrest and trial of some of them at the assizes, where numbers were often found guilty of not transplanting, and transported to the Barbadoes.

The consequence of clearing the towns of their inhabitants was to leave them ruinous: the few English were not enough to occupy them, and the deserted houses fell down, or were pulled down to use the timber for firing. Lord Inchiquin, President of Munster, was charged in 1647 with having given houses in the city of Cork, and farms in the suburbs, to his own menial servants, as barbers, grooms, and others. His answer was, that upon the expelling of the Irish out of Cork, it was to the benefit of the State that he should place any persons in the houses on the sole condition of upholding them, which otherwise, being waste and uninhabited, would have fallen to the ground; and though by this means many of the houses were preserved, yet for want of inhabitants about three thousand good houses in Cork, and as many in Youghal, had been destroyed by the soldiers, finding them empty, and for want of firing in their guards.¹

For such a scene of desolation as the cities and towns of Ireland presented at this period, recourse must be had to the records of antiquity; and there, in the ruined state of the towns

¹ Pp. 5, 6, "Articles humbly presented to the House of Commons against Murrough O'Brien, Lord Baron of Inchiquin, and Lord President of Munster, subscribed by Lord Broghill and Sir Arthur Loftus: with a clear Answer thereto made. By Richard Gething, Secretary to the Lord President." Small 4to. London : 1647.

of Sicily, when rescued by Timoleon from the tyranny of the Carthaginians, there is to be found a parallel. Syracuse, when taken, was found comparatively destitute of inhabitants. So little frequented was the market place, that it produced grass enough for the horses to pasture on, and for the grooms to lie in by them as they grazed. The other cities were deserts, full of deer and wild boars; and such as had this use for it hunted them in the suburbs round the walls.¹ And such was the case in Ireland. On the 20th December, 1652, a public hunt by the assembled inhabitants of the barony of Castleknock was ordered by the State of the numerous wolves lying in the wood of the ward, only six miles north of Dublin.²

But this desolation was, as usual, only preparatory to the improvement of Ireland. On the 4th of March, 1657, the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland pressed upon the government in England the improved condition of affairs, and that the towns were now ready for the English, and urging them to make it public in that country that they had been cleared of Irish, as appears by the following letter :—

“ To Secretary Thurloe.

“ Dublin Castle, 4th March, 1656-7.

“ RIGHT HONOURABLE,—The Council, having lately taken into their most serious consideration what may be most for the security of this country, and the encouragement of the English to come over and plant here, did think fitt that all Popish recusants, as well proprietors as others, whose habitations is in any port-towns, walled-towns, or garrisons, and who did not before the 15th September, 1643 (being the time mentioned in the Act of 1653 for the encouragement of adventurers and soldiers), and ever since profess the Protestant religion, should

¹ Plutarch, “ Life of Timoleon.”

² $\frac{A}{82}$, p. 492.

remove themselves and their families out of all such places, and two miles at the least distant therefrom, before 20th May next; and being desirous that the English people may take notice, that by this means there will be both security and convenience of habitation for such as shall be willing to come over as planters, they have commanded me to send you the enclosed declaration, and to desire you that you will take some course, whereby it may be made known unto the people for their encouragement to come over and plant in this country.

“Your humble servant,
“THOMAS HERBERT, Clerk of the Council.”¹

THE CLEARING OF THE CITY OF KILKENNY.

But, since particular instances are sometimes found to strike the mind more forcibly than general calamities, though the general calamity is simply the misery of individuals multiplied, it may be worth while to concentrate attention on three towns, such as Kilkenny, Waterford, and Galway, in order better to comprehend the scenes that were enacted in every town in Ireland, between 1650 and 1660.

The towns of Ireland were English fortresses, and always, until 1641, considered the mainstay of the English interest in Ireland. In many of them there is, to this day, a suburb known as the Irish town. It lies just outside the principal gate. In modern days it is only known as a quarter inhabited by the poorest of the citizens. But the name serves to recall a period when two towns, occupied by different races, stood beside one another; the one, a kind of fortress or military town, wherein dwelt the invaders, with their wives, families, and servants; the other, an assemblage of cabins or booths at the gate of the fortress, occupied by the native inhabitants,

¹ $\frac{A}{30}$, p. 246.

who supplied them with such wares as eggs, milk, butter, and fish, or were employed by them as masons, carpenters, curriers, carters, and day labourers. One has only to turn to India to behold at the present day a state not very dissimilar, where, at the gate of the English cantonments, occupied by the English officers, and their families, and the troops under their command, is the native town, or sometimes the bazaar, at which the garrison deal for their provisions. Such, in a great measure, was Kilkenny. Round the Norman Castle of the Butlers, seated on a cliff above the Nore, was the English town, enclosed with embattled walls, salient towers, and bastions. Outside the gate lay the Irish town.

It was founded by William, Earl Marshal, representative of Earl Richard, Strongbow. It was an ancient colony from England (to use the language of King James' Charter of 16th October, 1608, making it a city),¹ which retained the English laws, language, and customs, while the neighbourhood had lapsed into Irish barbarism, and had ever manfully repelled and prosecuted the King's enemies. The citizens were proud of their old English blood; and the fair hair and clear complexion of the women of Kilkenny (due perhaps in some degree to their fires of smokeless coal), their sweet oval faces, and their tall and graceful figures, plainly tell of their descent.

The burghers were all English. They collected the names of the chief of them in this distich,

“Archdekin, Archer, Cowley, Langton, Lee,
Knaresborough, Lawless, Raggett, Rothe, and Shee.”²

As the favourite residence of the Earls of Ormond, it became a kind of second capital of Leinster. Here met the first convention or Parliament of English of the birth of Ire-

¹ Memorial of the family of Langton, by John G. A. Prim, “Kilkenny Archaeological Journal,” vol. iv., New Series, (April, 1864), p. 72.

² Ibid.

land, in the reign of Edward III., to resist the resumption of grants (in other words, the seizure of their lands) by a Parliament at Dublin, packed with English Adventurers, to carry out this favourite scheme. "How be it (says Sir John Davis), there followed upon this resumption such a division and faction, between the English of birth and the English of blood and race, as they summoned and held several Parliaments, apart one from the other."¹ In nearly similar circumstances it became the capital of the Confederate Catholics in 1642. Here sat their Supreme Council and General Assembly, the Parliament of the Irish, while the Parliament of the English sat in Dublin.

On the 27th of March, 1650, Kilkenny surrendered to Cromwell. For three years longer the relics of the inhabitants were continued in dismal protection, waiting for events.

They beheld the High Court of Justice assemble (in the place where the Confederate Assembly sat for eight years), with such ceremonies as were used in England, the President being attended by twenty-four halberdiers,² and by the Serjeant-at-Arms, with the great mace sent down under military guard from the Council Chamber at Dublin Castle,³ and other officers of the court with their staves tipped with silver. It was a great Court Martial of the conquering English to try the vanquished Irish, consisting as it did of near an hundred

¹ "A Discoverie of the true Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued, &c.," by Sir John Davis, p. 660. "Irish Tracts," by Alexander Thom. 8vo. Dublin: 1860.

² "From Kilkenny in Ireland, October 14, 1652." "Mercur. Politicus," p. 1969.

³ "The mace to be taken from the Castle of Dublin to Kilkenny for the High Court of Justice, 28th September, 1652." Governors along the road to furnish guards of horse to convey Serjeant Mortimer in coming to Kilkenny. ^A ₈₂, p. 340.

officers of Cromwell's army, with a few lawyers intermixed, the decree of twelve being enough to sentence to death.¹ They saw the gallant Colonel Walter Bagnal, Ormond's cousin, led out from this slaughter house to be "bulleted alive;" they saw Mrs. Fitzpatrick, the mother of Colonel John Fitzpatrick, Ormond's future brother-in-law, hanged, both as murderers—a crime of which they were far less capable than their judges—and a whole crowd, many of them equally guiltless.² The citizens still hoped, probably, that when satiated with blood, there would rise for them a day of peace. Two years more elapsed, and they were commanded to quit the town and give place to a fresh colony from what has been called their own "Cannibal" nation.³ Proprietors and swordmen were to transplant to Connaught; the rest to seek shelter where they might, but never to come within two miles of their former happy home.

Lady Fanshaw has described the terrors, and tears, and cries of men, women and children, the inhabitants of Youghal, driven from their ancient habitations in October, 1649.⁴ There remains no record by any of the banished citizens of Kilkenny to paint their woes; or to tell

" What sorrows gloomed that parting day
That tore them from their native walks away."

But amongst them was one widow with her children, who sought refuge with others in Ballinakill, a town in the Queen's County, about sixteen miles north of Kilkenny. She had been the wife of Michael Langton, deceased, one of the chief

¹ Commission, dated 8th September, 1652. Library of Trinity College, Dublin, MSS. F. 3, 18.

² "Mercur. Politicus," Dec. 27, 1652, p. 2151.

³ "The English Interest Anatomized," &c. A. D. 1666. MS. "Carte Papers," vol. cxxxii., p. 113.

⁴ "Memoirs of Lady Fanshaw, wife of the Right Honourable Sir Richard Fanshaw, Bart., written by herself," p. 77. 8vo. London: 1829.

old burgher families, nearly as old as the founding of Kilkenny. Her eldest son, Nicholas, was apprenticed in 1649, to a merchant in Ross, on the River Barrow, then, and for ages before, a port rivalling Waterford in shipping. But being sent by his master as supercargo to France, the ship was taken by two Sallee Pickaroons, and he was kept in slavery for three years and four months on the coast of Barbary ; consequently, he was not present at the putting forth of his mother, his sisters and the family, from the town. But he rejoined her on escaping from the Algerines, at Ballinakill, to find his country under English slavery almost as bad as the Algerine. There he dwelt with her in banishment for nine years ; there he married, and had sons and daughters born to him in exile. For there he copied "the memorials of his grandfather's and father's children in the year of our Lord God 1658," being the fifth year of our banishment by Cromwell," as he himself has recorded, adding that he again transcribed them in Kilkenny in the year of our Lord God 1679, being the sixteenth year after his return into his ancestors' house, and the nineteenth of the King's Restoration.¹

It may be easily conceived with what joy the exiled and transplanted Irish must have heard of the recall of the King by the Convention that assembled in Dublin in February, 1660. They prepared to recross the Shannon, and quit their other places of exile to get back to their ancient homes. But the Convention, composed entirely of Cromwellian officers, got the King, by the advice of the Parliament of England, to issue a proclamation (1 June, 1660), suggesting (most falsely) that the Irish had broken out into new murthers and violence, robbing and despoiling several of his Majesty's Protestant

¹ Memorials of the Family of Langton, of Kilkenny, by John G. A. Prim, "Kilkenny Archaeological Journal" (New Series), vol. iv., p. 85.

subjects there planted, and disquieting their possessions. The King, therefore, by the advice of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament at Westminster, declared that he held it his duty to God and the whole Protestant interest, to order that all Irish rebels remaining in England, or coming thither, or into Ireland, should be seized and proceeded against as traitors ; and that the Adventurers and Soldiers should not be disturbed¹—thus implying “ that the Irish were up in arms, when, in truth, they were up in prison,” as was said. For the Lords Justices and Convention had already confined them under the severest penalties to their then abodes. The exiled inhabitants of Kilkenny considered themselves peculiarly happy in having a powerful patron at Court in Ormond. They addressed their petition privately to the King. Their ancestors, they informed his Majesty, were an ancient English colony, planted in Kilkenny by William Earl Marshal, Earl Palatine of Leinster in the reign of King John ; and that they had always continued true subjects to the Crown of England, and a terror to the King’s enemies, as appeared by their many charters. Their city endured a seven days’ siege, and had suffered the extremities of plague, fire, and sword, and four several storms at several parts of the city, which were repulsed. But after a great breach made by cannon shot of above fifty great bullets, all for standing for his Majesty’s interest, at last, by direction of the Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty’s Forces in those parts, Sir Walter Butler, Bart., Governor of the city and castle under Lord Ormond, the then Lord Lieutenant, they surrendered on 27th March, 1650, on terms granted by the late Usurper, of the governor and soldiers departing with bag and baggage, and security of the inhabitants in their lives and estates. After that rendition the said Usurper left with their then citizens and their mayor their

¹ Printed Proclamation. Bodley’s Library. S. Jur. Folio.

ensigns of authority, declaring that he came not to destroy, but to cherish them. Yet Colonel Daniel Axtell, appointed governor under the Usurper, out of his innate quarter-breaking mind and quality, seized the city charters and ensigns, and dispersed and banished, as well the mayor, aldermen, and other officers, as the inhabitants, forcing them in an unseasonable time of the year to remove from their habitations, and to sell their goods at an undervalue. Since which time they lived, and do live, in a distressed and sad condition. They urged that it was against the honour of England (which the Usurper protected in his actions) that his capitulation should, be broken; and in conclusion, that it appeared in the Old Testament that the breach of the quarter given by Josue to the Gibeonites was, some hundred years after, severely punished in the posterity of King Saul, the breaker of that quarter. And as he that was then mayor of the city was yet living in Connaught in a distressed condition, they humbly conceived that he was still the rightful mayor, and those then pretending to be officers of that corporation were usurpers upon the Petitioners' rights.¹ They at the same time addressed Ormond, "while still in durance in their old prisons of misery, poverty, and slavery," and said they doubted not that God had preserved him for the good of the three kingdoms, and especially for their distressed nation, where he had drawn his first breath. And, in conclusion, they told him they "had presumed, out of their coverts and lurking places," to address his Majesty, and had sent the address to some friends in London; but that it would die unless Ormond gave life to it by his countenance and favour.² They little knew that with

¹ "The Clearing of Kilkenny, Anno 1654." By John P. Prendergast. *Kilkenny Archaeol. Journal.* Vol. iii. (New Series), A. D. 1861, p. 342.

² *Ibid.*, p. 340. Endorsed in Ormond's hand, "Irish Inhabitants of Kilkenny. Rec'd 18th June, 1661."

Ormond, like every Englishman, the preservation of the English interest was the *ultima ratio regum*,¹ before which all ties of family, country, humanity, go down. Their first rude awakening to this truth must have been to find the English just returned from banishment worse than the Puritans; for those that were spared by Cromwell were driven out by the Royalists. "Worthy cousin," wrote Richard Shee from Kilkenny, the first Christmas after the King's Restoration, to Patrick Bryan, "the lawyer," in London, "there are thirty-two artificers and shopmen whom the late Usurper thought fit to dispense from transplantation, and are now commanded by strict order in twenty hours warning (given them last Friday) to depart with their families. The poor people, with sighs and tears, desired me to implore you to obtain some countermand from the Duke or His Highness, for which they will always remain your debtor. Their distraction [he concluded] hindered this request to be subscribed with their own hands."²

¹ "The English Interest Anatomized," &c., *ut supra*.

² Richard Shee "to Patrick Bryan, at his Lodgings at Gray's Inn." Dated December, 1660. "Carte Papers," vol. cxciv., p. 194. "Colonel [Richard] Talbot tells me M^r Bryan, the Lawyer, will shortly be here. I presume, by him the Letter in form from the King concerning your pretensions will come." Ormond to Se^r Bennett, August 16, 1662. "Carte Papers," ibid. This is probably the Mr. Bryan recommended by Axtell, the Commissioner of Parliament for the Affairs of Ireland, to the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn:

"To the Society of Lincoln's Inn.

"GENTLEMEN,—Coming into these parts we received from Colonel Axtell, Governor of Kilkenny, very fair testimony of the carriage of M^r John Brien, of []¹ in the County of Kilkenny, Esq. At whose request and earnest intreaty we recommend to your favour the bearer, M^r []² Bryan, his eldest son, who (out of his love to good literature and civil education) humbly desires he may be admitted a member of your Society. Whereunto we are the rather induced in regard the father is a gentleman of an ancient family and considerable fortune, and one that hath been active against the enemy, killed a

In the year 1663, some of the late inhabitants, as Walter Archer, Esq., Sir Robert Rothe, John Bryan of Jenkins-town, Esq., Mary Bryan, and Garret Wall, of Coolnemuck, Esq., obtained the King's Letters for being restored to their houses and lands, within the City and Liberties of Kilkenny, as soon as they should obtain decrees of Innocence in Court of Claims.¹ For the Adventurers and Soldiers had so contrived the Act of Settlement, that the banished Irish were not to be restored to their dwellings and properties in towns, even though decreed innocent.² They were given to the Protestant Officers who served the King in Ireland before the 5th of June, 1649,³ that they might not be worse off than the Cromwellian Souldiery. By the Act, however, the King might restore Innocent Papists by name.⁴ The 'Forty-Nine Officers now insisted that they must be first decreed Innocent, and that the King's Letters for restoring these Papists were against the security of the English interest, against the words of the Act, and would deprive them of much of what was designed

Captain of the Tories, and did some other good services to the Commonwealth in this nation.

"And, besides, the Gentleman is young and seemingly ingenuous; and who knows but the Lord may give him a self-convincing spirit to the forsaking the blindness of his father's house, and reducing him unto the way of truth? Which is the many motives that put us upon this motion, which we commit to your consideration, and rest, Gentlemen, Yours, &c.

"[EDMUND LUDLOW.]⁵ [MILES CORBET.]⁶ J. WEAVER.]⁷

A
2, p. 302.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, blank in the entry.

¹ The King to the Commissioners of the Court of Claims, June 1, 1663, "Carte Papers," vol. xlili., 110.

² The King's Declaration of 30th November, 1660, for the Settlement of Ireland, clause xviii., embodied in Act of Settlement, 14 and 15 Charles II., chap. 2 (A. D. 1662).

³ King's Declaration. Ibid., clause viii.

⁴ Id., clause xviii.

for their arrears ; and they applied to Ormond to support their objection, which he did.¹ The Commissioners were ordered by the Council to suspend the giving of any decrees of innocence to Papists possessed of house property in towns ;² and by the Act of Explanation (A. D. 1665), the King surrendered his power.³ By the same Act of Parliament, all Innocents were for ever concluded. Hear their cry !

" It will be (wrote their advocate) a paradox to posterity that the most merciful King, that pardoned the murderers of his royal father, should now give an irrevocable sentence of death against so many thousand Innocents. I cannot foretell what opinion will be had hereafter of this English interest ; but it seems it is now become the *Ultima Ratio Regum*, when no other can be given, and the *Non Plus Ultra* to all human ratiocination.

"The English interest alone is privileged to endure no companion. It is the only interest on earth that cannot subsist without the neighbours' ruin ; that cannot be preserved without destroying all the rest of mankind where it is concerned. May we not, therefore, justly call it an unsocial, unchristian, and inhuman interest ? Nay, a monster in nature—for it fattens itself with its own blood. For it appeareth that a great part of the Irish natives now destroyed upon account of securing the English interest are of English extraction, descended from ancient English colonies, who first brought over that interest, and maintained it here to our times. If this Cannibal English interest gives no better quarter to the children of English, what can strangers expect ? If the interest of Eng-

¹ Ormond to Secretary Sir H. Bennett, June 13, 1663. "Carte Papers," vol. cxliii., p. 141.

² Order of Council, dated 27th July, 1663. "Carte Papers," vol. xliv., p. 404..

³ 17th and 18th Charles II., chap. ii., sect. 221.

land cannot be maintained in Wexford, Kilkenny, and Galway, without extirpating the old natives, whose English ancestors built those cities, and surrounded them with walls for the preservation of that interest, what security can the race of the now Adventurers and Souldiers have hereafter in Ireland.¹ Or what security can they propose to themselves that, within an age or two at the most, new colonies shall not come out of England to dispossess them of their estates, upon the account of settling a newer English interest,² just as their fathers do now dispossess the offspring of the last English? Neither can these new English Colonies (that shall come over one hundred years hence, to extirpate the posterity of the now Adventurers and Souldiers), have any security for their children; so that to the world's end (according to this new form of government) the English interest can never be settled in Ireland, nor in any other subdued country."³

THE CLEARING OF WATERFORD.

As Kilkenny was purely of English foundation, so Waterford owed its foundation to the Danes. And no sooner did the English get possession of it, in the days of King Henry II., than they thrust forth the Danes, to people it with English, just as they expelled the descendants of those new colonists, in 1654, to repeople it with newer English. When Robert Walsh was indicted at Waterford, in 1384, for killing John, son of Ivor M'Gilmore, and pleaded that he was Irish, and that it was no felony to kill an Irishman, the King's Attorney

¹ See p. 7, n. 2, *supra*.

² He seems to have foreseen the Incumbered Estates Act.

³ "The English Interest Anatomized; And the fallacie of arguments drawn from Obligation and Necessity for the present Settlement of Ireland. Sufficiently demonstrated in a letter from an Irish gentleman to his friend in England." [Anno. 1665]. "Carte Papers," vol. ccxxii., p. 113.

(John fitz John fitz Robert La Poër) replied, that M'Gilmore was an Ostman of Waterford, descended of Gerald M'Gilmore, and that all his (Gerald's) posterity and kinsmen were entitled to the law of Englishmen, by the grant of Henry fitz Empress, which he (Mr. Attorney) produced. And issue being joined, the jury on their oaths found, that at the first invasion of the English, Reginald the Dane, then ruler of Waterford, drew three great iron chains across the river, to bar the passage of the King's fleet; but that, being conquered and taken by the English, he was tried and hanged, by sentence of the King's court at Waterford, with all his officers, for this crime. They further found that King Henry II. banished all the then inhabitants of the town (except Gerald M'Gilmore, who joined the English, and then dwelt, so the jury found, in a tower over against the Church of the Friars Preachers, very old and ruinous at the time of the trial), and assigned them a place outside the town to dwell at, and there they built what was then (Anno 1384), called the Ostmantown of Waterford.¹ And the same seems to have taken place at Dublin at the first invasion; for King James I. (25th May, 1609),² in urging the city of London to inhabit the ruined city of Derry, reminded them how Dublin, being desolate by the slaughter of the Ostmen, was given by King Henry II. to the city of Bristol, and (to their everlasting commendation) was re inhabited by the men of that city.³ And Waterford was probably repeopled from the same source.

¹ Plea Roll of 3rd to 7th year of Edward II. Membrane 18 (old number, 83). From the transcript made by the Record Commissioners of 1810-1825. See also *suprad.* p. 22, n.

² "Close Roll of Chancery, 7th and 8th Charles I. (1632-33). Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls, of King Charles I., page 620. By James Morrin, Clerk of the Enrolments." 8vo. Dublin: Alexander Thom, Her Majesty's Stationer, 1863.

³ Hence, perhaps, the Ostmantown (or Oxmantown) of Dublin.

It thenceforth continued to be, what Sir William Temple desired (A. D. 1668), that Dublin should for ever be kept, a chaste English town.¹ Not in the vulgar sense ; for at the time of Sir W. Temple's wish, Dublin, in Mr. Justice Clodpole's opinion (so Ormond said), was but the lesser Sodom ;² but pure of Irish. With the degenerate Poers of Donile, and their Irish confederates the O'Driscols of Baltimore, the mayor and citizens of Waterford, in 1368 and 1415, waged stout war. Yet this did not hinder the mayor and a chivalrous party of his citizens from going by sea on Christmas eve (A. D. 1453), well armed, to Baltimore, and presenting themselves to O'Driscol and his family at their Christmas dinner in the hall. They soon relieved them of their terrors, by telling them they had come, not to injure them, but to carol and to dance. And having enjoyed his hospitality, they brought O'Driscol and his family back with them to Waterford, to partake of the city festivities, and to dance on St. Stephen's Day.³

This city got liberty from Parliament, by 25 Henry VI. (A. D. 1447), to war against the Poers and the Welshmen, their wild neighbours, as Irish.⁴ The Parliament seemed to consider it a kind of English oasis in a desert of Irish. For in the year 1477 they found that in all the counties round the city there were no English demeaning themselves as English, but dressing and acting like the Irish ; and that Richard Power had, for twenty years, been sheriff of the county, and had robbed and murdered French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Flemish merchants. The Mayor and Commons were, therefore,

¹ "Life of Sir H. Coventry," by T. Peregrine Courtney," vol. i., pp. 382-384. 2 vols. 8vo. London : 1836.

² Ormond to Lord Kingston, 16 December, 1674. "Carte Papers," vol. i., p. 123.

³ MSS. Library of Trinity College, Dublin, F. 3, 16.

⁴ Unpublished Irish Statutes.

authorized, by 16 and 17 Edward IV. (A.D. 1477), to elect a sheriff for the county.¹ In 1647, this sea town (so the English newswriters reported) had no natural Irish in it, nor would admit any during these troubles.² It was considered by the Kings of England so true, that it got from them the name of the city of Unspotted Loyalty, which it bears as the motto to its arms to this day.³

In 1650 (6th August) it surrendered to Ireton, after so gallant a defence by General Preston, that he obtained terms to march out under safe conduct to Athlone, standards flying, trumpets sounding, pistols and carbines loaded.⁴ But in due time it shared the fate of its sister, Kilkenny. Its merchants, the Lombards, the Lincolnes, the Lynnets, the Geraldines, were dispersed and banished; its thronged streets became desolate, its houses dilapidated, and the breast of its broad river shipless. Ireton now (16th February, 1650-1), approved of Colonel Richard Lawrence's proposals for the raising in England of a regiment of 1200 Footmen, for the planting and guarding of the city.⁵ None (or but a few) came. In 1650 (10th December), Waterford (as well as Limerick, Galway, and Cork), so the Commissioners for Ireland informed the Lord Protector and Council of State, had become ruinous, the houses falling down, and by indigent people pulled down.⁶ But at length came the Restoration; and the King's gracious Declaration of 30th November, 1660, drawn by the Cromwellians, where the

¹ Unpublished Irish Statutes.

² "Perfect Diurnal of Passages in Parliament," "News from Dublin," 9th June, 1647, p. 1629.

³ "Urbe Intacta."

⁴ "The Articles of Surrender in Several Proceedings in Parliament, from 22nd to 29th August, 1650." No. 48, p. 710.

⁵ Ibid., p. 1129.

⁶ A
30 p. 217.

King is made to comfort himself that God, who had wrought so much for him in England, would bring his work to the same perfection in Ireland, and not suffer his good subjects to weep in one kingdom, whilst they rejoiced in the other.¹ Some of the banished merchants of Waterford, hearing these happy tidings beyond the seas at Ostend, St. Malos, Nantz, and Rochelle, in France, and at St. Sebastian and Cadiz in Spain, on behalf of themselves (and of others, in far-off Mexico), petitioned (April 19, 1661), to be allowed to return, and to exercise, in their native abode, the skill they had gained in traffiquing during their eleven years' banishment, since the surrender of the city to Ireton, and the confiscation of their properties. God had blessed their efforts. They had been enabled to relieve such of His Majesty's distressed officers and followers as came in their way. And, if they were now restored to their little properties in Waterford, they would bring thither their stock, and exercise their insight and experience in their native city.² No answer appears to have been made to their prayer. In 1664 (1st August), seven other merchants, in behalf of themselves and others, in all about twenty, young men dispersed beyond the seas, petitioned Ormond from St. Malos. They had acquired by their industry, in the thirteen years last past, a reasonable stock, but much more in experience and traffique; their insight into commerce being such as they might boldly aver it to exceed that of all their predecessors in that city, and equal to that of all the merchants then in Ireland; and that their being gathered together in one

¹ Clause V., embodied in the Act of Settlement, 14 and 15 Charles II. (A. D. 1662), chap. ii.

² "The petition of Mathew Porter, Nicholas Geraldin, Jasper Grant, Nicholas Lee the younger, James Lincolne, Mathew Everard, and Luke Hore, banisht merchants of Waterford, now residing beyond the seas." "Carte Papers," vol. xxxiii., p. 356.

city would, in process of time, render Waterford as flourishing as ever it was, and second only to Dublin. They hoped the Duke of Ormond would not deem the inconvenience greater than the benefit, if they should return home, and practise in their native soil the knowledge they had acquired in foreign nations. (And sure His Grace had, in his person, received such many advantages from his outlandish experience, not to regard the like in its degree in others?) They would be leaders of the rest. Their estates were not above £800 a year; and if restored, His Majesty would soon regain the loss of their return.¹ In answer, they were bidden to send over one of their number, and they should be furnished with Letters of Marque against the apprehended war with the Hollanders.²

They replied (31 January, 1664-5), that they would be willing to equip and send forth privateers from Waterford, if allowed to return and enjoy their properties and freedoms. These, they said, were their hopes; but they were balanced by their fears, grounded on the hard usage of those that were at home, who were so far from being allowed the freedom of citizens, that they were daily threatened to be expelled the town, and were as ill dealt with as under Cromwell.³

Their allusion, no doubt, was to the scenes that took place two years before (with threats since of repetition), when the

¹ "Letter to Sir Nicholas Plunket (towards Ormond), one of the Agents for the Affairs of Ireland, dated St. Malos, 1 August, 1664." Signed, "James Lincolne, Nicholas Lee, Junior, Mathew Porter, Mathew Everard, Nicholas Geraldin Redmon, Luke Hore, Jaspar Grant." P. S.—"They who are not concerned in Estates are, Anthony Carew, of Ostend; Valentin Morgan, of Saint Sebastian; Francis White, of Calis; Andrew Geraldin, of Nants; William Lee, of Rochell; Nicholas and Theobald, of Saint Malos; Walter Poore, in Mexico, and divers others, &c., Peeter Lynett." "Carte Papers," vol. xxxiv., p. 351.

² Ibid., p. 353.

³ Mathew Porter to Ormond. Dated "Saint Malos, the last of January, 1664-5." "Carte Papers," vol. xxxiv., p. 22.

gentry, at the Restoration, having quitted their former tillage in Connaught, repaired for relief and habitation to other parts of the kingdom, and there took farms. On the 7th of December, 1661, a Committee of the Commons, then sitting in Dublin, waited on the Lords Justices at 7 o'clock at night, with a letter alleged to be dropped from a Priest's pocket, near Trim, importing a conspiracy of the Irish.¹ Whereupon they issued a proclamation, dated 10th December, 1661, ordering all Transplanters back to Connaught, and all merchants and tradesmen to depart the towns (even those who had been tolerated there by the late Usurpers), on twenty-four hours' warning, with their wives, children, and goods and families, which was executed with so much rigour, as many women (some of them big with child), staying at Waterford beyond the day prefixed for their banishment, were, in the depth of winter, dragged through the streets, and thrust out of the town.²

The objections to the restoring of these poor banished merchants of Waterford (and other towns) was, that they were then planted with English who had brought trade and manufacture into the kingdom.³ But Sir Nicholas Plunket answered, that they would prove (if allowed) that the corporations never had less trade, nor in man's memory been so

¹ "The More ample Accompt," &c., pp. 2 to 5. By F. Peter Walsh. Dated London, 3 February, 1661-2. 12mo. London: 1662.

² "The Petition of Divers Roman Catholics of Ireland to His Majesty, desiring that they might have liberty to live in any County or Corporation in Ireland, being by orders of the Lords Justices, commanded into Connaught." [January, 1662 ?]. Liber H., "Collections concerning the Act of Settlement," p. 22. Record Tower, Dublin Castle. And see for description, "The More Ample Accompt," *ubi supra*; and "The Clearing of Kilkenny," Richard Shea's Letter to Patrick Bryan," *supra*, p. 292.

³ "His Majesty's Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland of 30th November 1660," clause xviii. Embodied in Act of Settlement, 13 and 14 Chas. II. (A. D. 1662), chap. 2.

poor and decayed as then. The reason (he said) being plain, that most of those transported thither were such as had not stock or means to drive on trade, and went thither in hopes to have dwelling houses without rent for their habitations.¹

THE CLEARING OF GALWAY.

Galway seems to have been, even before the English conquest, the seat of foreign traders. And some time after the invasion of Henry II., the town is found inhabited by a number of families, all of French and English blood, who refused to intermarry with the Irish. Their relations with the native race may best be understood by one of the corporation by-laws, which enacts (A. D. 1518) that none of the inhabitants should admit any of the Burkes, M'Williams, Kellys, or any other sept into their houses, to the end "that neither O ne Mac should strutte ne swagger throughe the streets of Gall-way."² In 1641 the townsmen were all English. Richard Martin, one of the principal inhabitants, in announcing, from Galway, the outbreak of the Irish in the neighbourhood, to Lord Ormond, informs him (December, 1641) that the town is disfurnished with arms and munitions, so that to defend those maiden walls they had but naked bodies. And in allusion to a rumour current that they would be allowed none, he says, God forbid it should be true. "If it be (said he) we are very unfortunate to be hated by some powerful neighbours for being all English; and to have our four hundred years' constant and unsuspected loyalty without the help of a garrison (until the last year, when there was no need for it) forgotten and buried."³

¹ "The Roman Catholics of Ireland, their Answers relating to the Proposals offered in order to the Settlement of Ireland by the Commissioners from the Convention of Ireland in 1660." "Carte Papers," vol. lxviii., Paper 6th.

² "History of Galway," p. 20. By James Hardiman. 4to.

³ "Carte Papers," vol. ii., p. 117.

Galway was the last fortress of the Irish in the war of 1641, and surrendered to Ludlow on the 20th March, 1652, on articles, securing the inhabitants their residences within the town, and the enjoyment of their houses and estates. The taxation was soon so great, that many of the townspeople quitted their habitations, and removed their cattle, unable to endure it.¹ Consequently the contribution fell the heavier on the remaining inhabitants. This tax was collected from them every Saturday by sound of trumpet; and if not instantly paid, the soldiery rushed into the house, and seized what they could lay hands on. The sound of this trumpet, every returning Saturday, shook their souls with terror, like the trumpet of the day of judgment.² On the 15th March, 1653, the Commissioners for Ireland, remarking upon the disaffection thus exhibited, confiscated the houses of those that had deserted the town. Those that fled were wise in time. On 23rd July, 1655, all the Irish were directed to quit the town by the 1st of November following, the owners of houses, however, to receive compensation at eight years' purchase; in default, the soldiers were to drive them out.³ On 30th October this order was executed. All the inhabitants, except the sick and bedrid, were at once banished, to provide accommodation for such English Protestants whose integrity to the State should entitle them to be trusted in a place of such importance; and Sir Charles Coote on the 7th November received the thanks of the government for clearing the town, with a request that he would remove the sick and bedrid as soon as the

¹ A
82, p. 704.

² "Pii Antistitis Icon, &c." The Portrait of a Pious Bishop, or the Life and Death of the Most Reverend Francis Kirwan, Bishop of Killala." By John Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam. Saint Malo, A.D. 1669. Translated by the Rev. C. P. Meehan. J. Duffy. 12mo. Dublin: 1848.

³ Ibid., p. 136.

season might permit, and take care that the houses while empty were not spoiled by the soldiery.¹ Among the sick and bedrid was not counted Robert French, a cripple, though not able to stand or sit without the assistance of another. He was helped out of the town by George French, and they betook themselves to a village in the country. They had converted all their little substance into money, in hopes to bestow the same in some bargain of advantage to them. But their banishment was peculiarly unfortunate. On the 10 June, 1664, in the dead time of the night, they were plundered of £44 12s. in money, and of gold rings, spoons, and other things, to the value of £20, and of their evidences, and writings of great value, by four unknown and disguised horsemen, who, upon fresh pursuit, could not be discovered in the country—only of late one of them was hanged in Galway. Ever since they were in a miserable condition, living on the charity of friends. They, accordingly, asked liberty of the Lord Lieutenant and Council to live again and abide in Galway, out of the danger of further plundering.²

Mathew Quin, and Mary Quin (otherwise Butler) his wife, asked liberty of the Lord Lieutenant to clear the graveyard of Saint Francis's Abbey, without the walls, in the north Franchises of the town of Galway, of the stones laid in heaps upon the graves by the late usurped power. It was the burial place of the petitioners and their ancestors since the reign of James I., and of very many inhabiting the town and country near it. The late Abbey was demolished by the usurpers,³

¹ "History of Galway," p. 137, n. By James Hardiman.

² "The humble Petition of Robert French and George French." Fiat by Ormonde. Dated Dublin Castle, 21 May, 1669. "Carte Papers," vol. cxliv., p. 41.

³ Their Petition. Fiat by Ormonde. Dated Dublin Castle, 21 May, 1666. "Carte Papers," vol. cxliv., p. 41. For Lord Forbes's and the Adventurers' de-

and the monuments defaced and taken away, and the stones laid down in great heaps upon the graves. So that the inhabitants who ought to be buried there cannot be interred in their ancestral vaults and graves without great charge and trouble.¹ By such desolation the town was made ready for newer English to inhabit.

On 22 July, 1656, the Commissioners for Ireland moved his Highness, the Lord Protector, and Council of State, that some considerable merchants of London might be urged to occupy it, to revive its trade and repair the town, which was falling into ruin, being almost depopulated, and the houses falling down for want of inhabitants. But the City of London had known enough of Ireland. Star-chambered in 1637 for their neglect at Derry, and "censured in" £70,000, and their Charter suspended, and their whole plantation effaced by the Irish war in 1641, they would venture no more. The Lord Protector and Council, therefore, turned to two less experienced cities.

There was a large debt of £10,000 due to Liverpool for their loss and suffering for the good cause. The eminent deservings and losses of the city of Gloucester also had induced the Parliament to order them £10,000, to be satisfied in forfeited lands in Ireland. The Commissioners of Ireland now offered forfeited houses in Galway, rated at ten years' purchase, to the inhabitants of Liverpool and Gloucester, to satisfy their respective debts, and they were both to arrange about the planting of it with English Protestants. To induce them to accept the proposal, the Commissioners enlarged upon the

desecration of St. Mary's Church, and digging up the graves in 1642, see p. 75, *supra*.

¹ "To Mr. Henry Waddington, Receiver of His Highness's Revenue in the Precinct of Galway, £50 on account, being by him to be issued according to orders from Colonel Thomas Sadleir, for and towards demolishing the Abbey near Galway. 26 February, 1656-7." Treasury Warrants, p. 91.

advantages of Galway. It lay open for trade with Spain, the Straits, the West Indies, and other places; no town or port in the three nations, London excepted, was more considerable. It had many noble uniform buildings of marble, though many of the houses had become ruinous by reason of the war, and the waste done by the impoverished English dwelling there. No Irish were permitted to live in the city, nor within three miles of it. If it were only properly inhabited by English, it might have a more hopeful gain by trade than when it was in the hands of the Irish that lived there.¹ There was never a better opportunity of undertaking a plantation, and settling manufactures there than the present, and they suggested that it might become another Derry.

The bait took. On 17th February, 1657-8, the houses in Flood-street, Key-street, Middle-street, Little Gate-street, south side of High-street, and other parts adjoining, valued to £1518 8s. 9d. by the year, were set out to the well-affected inhabitants of Gloucester.² Others of like value were set out to those of Liverpool.³ But no new Gloucester or Liverpool arose at Galway. Nor did her ancient crowds of shipping return to her bay.

For it is a comparatively easy thing to unsettle a nation or ruin a town, but not so easy to resettle the one, or to restore the other to prosperity, when ruined.⁴ And Galway, once frequented by ships with cargoes of French and Spanish wines, to supply the wassailings of the O'Neils and O'Donels, the O'Garas and the O'Kanes, her marble palaces handed over to strangers, and her gallant sons and dark-eyed daughters banished, remains for 200 years a ruin; her splendid port empty, while her "hungry air" in 1862 becomes the mock of the official stranger.⁵

¹ $\frac{A}{30}$, p. 255; *ibid.*, p. 315.

² $\frac{A}{31}$, p. 260.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁴ "The Great Case of Transplantation Discussed," p. 26. 4to. London: 1655.

⁵ Sir Robert Peel, Bart., Secretary for Ireland.

CHAPTER VII.

THE THREE BURDENOME BEASTS.

DESOLATION OF IRELAND.

IRELAND, in the language of Scripture, now lay void as a wilderness. Five-sixths of her people had perished. Women and children were found daily perishing in ditches, starved. The bodies of many wandering orphans,¹ whose fathers had embarked for Spain, and whose mothers had died of famine, were preyed upon by wolves. In the years 1652 and 1653, the plague and famine had swept away whole countries, that a man might travel twenty or thirty miles and not see a living creature. Man, beast, and bird were all dead; or had quit those desolate places. The troopers would tell stories of the place where they saw a smoke, it was so rare to see either smoke by day, or fire or candle by night. If two or three cabins were met with, there were found there none but aged men, with women and children; and they, in the words of the prophet, "become as a bottle in the smoke; their skins black like an oven, because of the terrible famine." They were seen to pluck stinking carrion out of a ditch, black and rotten; and

¹ "Upon serious consideration had of the great multitudes of poore swarming in all parts of this nacion, occasioned by the devastation of the country, and by the habits of licentiousness and idleness which the generality of the people have acquired in the time of this rebellion; insomuch that frequently some are found feeding on carrion and weeds—some starved in the highways, and many times poor children who lost their parents, or have been deserted by them, are found exposed to, and some of them fed upon, by ravening wolves and other beasts and birds of prey." "Printed Declaration of the Council, 12th of May, 1653." ^A ₈₄, p. 138.

were said to have even taken corpses out of the grave to eat. A party of horse hunting for Tories on a dark night discovered a light ; they thought it was a fire which the Tories usually made in those waste counties to dress their food and warm themselves ; drawing near, they found it a ruined cabin, and besetting it round, some alighted and peeped in at the window. There they saw a great fire of wood, and sitting round about it a company of miserable old women and children, and betwixt them and the fire a dead corpse lay broiling, which as the fire roasted, they cut off colllops and ate.¹ Such was the depopulation of Ireland, that great part of it, it was believed, must lie waste many years—much of it for many ages.² But these great wastes were haunted by three burdensome beasts, that troubled the comfort of the English. In the first united Parliament of the Three Kingdoms, at Westminster, in 1657, Major Morgan, member for the county of Wicklow, deprecated the taxation proposed for Ireland, by showing that the country was in ruins ; and, besides the cost of rebuilding the churches, courthouses, and markethouses, they were under a very heavy charge for public rewards, paid for the destruction of three beasts. “We have three beasts to destroy (said Major Morgan), that lay burthens upon us. The first is the wolf, on whom we lay five pounds a head if a dog, and ten pounds if a bitch. The second beast is a priest, on whose head we lay ten pounds, —if he be eminent, more. The third beast is a Tory, on whose head, if he be a public Tory, we lay twenty pounds ; and forty shillings on a private Tory. Your army cannot catch them : the Irish bring them in ; brothers and cousins cut one another’s throats.”³

¹ The description of an eye-witness—“The Interest of Ireland in its Trade and Wealth Stated,” Part ii., p. 86. By Colonel Richard Lawrence. 12mo. Dublin : 1682.

² “The Interest of England in the well Planting of Ireland with English,” p. 31. By Colonel Richard Lawrence. Small 4to. Dublin : 1656.

³ “Burton’s Parliamentary Diary,” 10th June, 1657.

FIRST BURDENOME BEAST, THE WOLF.

When the Great Jehovah in his inscrutable wisdom directed the sons of Israel to return to the land of Canaan, where they had been humbly and hospitably entertained for many years, and charged them to kill all the inhabitants without mercy, and divide their ancient inheritances by lot, he warned them against destroying them too suddenly. "Thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them ; but thou must not consume them at once, lest the beasts of the field increase upon thee."¹ In Ireland, from too rapidly exterminating the people, the wolves multiplied in the great scopes of land lying waste and deserted in all parts of the country, and increased till they became so serious a public nuisance, by destroying the sheep and cattle of the English, that various measures had to be taken against them. Ireland had of old been celebrated for her wolf dogs, which, with her equally celebrated hawks, were considered fit presents for kings. The officers quitting for Spain in 1652, proud of their dogs, were found to be taking them with them ; but the tidewaiters at the different ports, now crowded with these departing exiles, were directed to seize the dogs, on account of the increasing number of the wolves, and send them to the public huntsman of the precinct.²

Public hunts were regularly organized, and deer toil brought over from England, and kept in the public store for setting up while driving the woods with hounds and horn for these destructive beasts of prey.³ Irishmen were occasionally em-

¹ Deuteronomy, chap. vii.

² A
82, p. 202.

³ "Whereas some money hath been issued on account to Colonel Daniel Abbott and others, for providing of toyles for taking of wolves, which have been brought over for publique use; and understanding that part thereof is at present at Greenhill, near Kilcullen; ordered that Captain Tomlins, Comptroller of the Traine, do forthwith take care that the said toyles and other materials

ployed, and furnished with passes to go with guns to kill them in particular districts, as in the county of Wicklow.¹ This curse, one of the consequences of the great desolation, the government charged upon the priests. For if the priests had not been in Ireland, the troubles would not have arisen, nor the English have come, nor have made the country almost a ruinous heap, nor would the wolves have so increased.² By a similar process of reasoning it is proved that it is the Irish that have caused the ruin, the plundering, and desolation of the country from the days of the first invasion for so many ages.

By a printed declaration of 29th June, 1653, republished on 1st July, 1656, the commanders of the various districts were to appoint days and times for hunting the wolf; and persons destroying wolves and bringing their heads to the Commissioners of the Revenue of the precinct were to receive for the head of a bitch wolf, £6; of a dog wolf, £5; for the head of every cub that preyed by himself, 40s.; and for the head of every sucking cub, 10s.³ The assessments on several counties to reimburse the treasury for these advances became, as ap-

thereto belonging be brought from Greenhill, or any other place, and laid into the publique stores, and there kept until further direction shall be given concerning the same. *Dated at Dublin, 29th August, 1659.*

"THOS. HERBERT, Clerk of the Council."

A
 $\frac{1}{17}$, p. 45.

¹ "Ordered that Richard Toole, with Morris M'William his servant, with their two fowling pieces, and half a pound of powder and bullet proportionable be permitted to pass quietly from Dublin into the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, and Dublin, for the killing of wolves. To continue for the space of two months from the date of the order. *Dublin, 1 November, 1652.*" A
 $\frac{1}{82}$, p. 454.

² "Declaration of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland [Cromwell] in answer to the Declaration of the Irish Prelates and Clergy in a Conventicle at Clonmacnoise. Printed at Corke, and now reprinted at London. Ed. Griffin, at the Old Bayley, March 21, 1650."

³ A
 $\frac{1}{84}$, p. 255. Republished 7th July, 1656.—"Book of Printed Declarations of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland." British Museum.

pears from Major Morgan's speech, a serious charge. In corroboration it appears that in March, 1655, there was due from the precinct of Galway £243 5s. 4d. for rewards paid on this account. But the most curious evidence of their numbers is that lands lying only nine miles north of Dublin were leased by the State in the year 1653, under conditions of keeping a hunting establishment with a pack of wolf hounds for killing the wolves, part of the rent to be discounted in wolves' heads, at the rate in the declaration of 29th June, 1653.¹ Under this lease Captain Edward Piers was to have all the state lands in the barony of Dunboyne, in the county of Meath, valued at £543 8s. 8d. at a rent greater by £100 a year than they then yielded in rent and contribution, for five years from 1st of May following, on the terms of maintaining at Dublin and Dunboyne three wolf dogs, two English mastiffs, a pack of hounds of sixteen couple (three whereof to hunt the wolf only), a knowing huntsman and two men, and one boy. Captain Piers was to bring to the Commissioners of Revenue at Dublin a stipulated number of wolf heads in the first year, and a diminishing number every year; but for every wolf head whereby he fell short of the stipulated number, £5 was to be defalked from his salary.²

SECOND BURDENOME BEAST, THE PRIEST.

On the 8th December, 1641, both Houses of Parliament in England passed a joint declaration, in answer to the demand of the Irish for the free exercise of their religion, that they never would give their assent to any toleration of the Popish religion in Ireland, or in any other of His Majesty's dominions.³ Cromwell's manifesto, too, cannot be forgotten, that where the

¹ $\frac{\text{A}}{30}$, p. 30.

² $\frac{\text{A}}{82}$, p. 686.

³ 4th "Rushworth's Collections," p. 455.

Parliament of England had power the mass should not be allowed of.¹ Pym had previously boasted that they would not leave a priest in Ireland.² Such a measure was the proper complement of the Declaration ; for what could priests be about but spreading their religion if they staid ? For them, during the war, there was no mercy ; when any forces surrendered upon terms, priests were always excepted ; priests were thenceforth out of protection, to be treated as enemies that had not surrendered. Twenty pounds was offered for their discovery, and to harbour them was death.³ This obliged them to fly, and to hide until they heard of some body of swordmen being ready to sail for Spain. Thereupon it was their custom to get the officers commanding to apply for leave to transport them together with his troops.⁴ Occasionally they would

¹ "Declaration of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in Answer to the Acts of the Popish Clergy at Clonmacnoise. Printed at Cork, and reprinted in London. March, 1650." 4to.

² "Nelson's Historical Collections."

³ "INTELLIGENCE FROM IRELAND."

"Dublin, 11 November, 1650.

"Sir,—You will hear from Waterford more certain news, and from Munster, than from hence. The Tories are very busye in these parts, and it is probable they will increase ; for all the Papists are to be turned out of this city ; and for the Jesuits, priests, fryers, munks, and nunnies, 20th will be given to any that can bring certain intelligence where any of them are. And whosoever doth harbour or conceal any one of them is to forfeit life and estate.

"Your humble servant,

"EVANS VAUGHAN."

"Several Proceedings in Parliament from 21st to 28th November, 1650," p. 912.

⁴ "Colonel Teelin, who has licence to transport one thousand Irish for the service of the King of Spain, to have liberty to take away all priests in Ireland that send in their names. 26 January, 1654." ^A ₈₃, p. 85.

"Colonel Edmund O'Dwyer being licensed to transport 3500 Irish, for the service of the Prince de Conde ; ordered that he be permitted to enlist and

apply for protection, while waiting to transport themselves of their own accord.¹

To be proscribed, however, was nothing but what they were used to from the days of Queen Elizabeth. There were statutes in force in England making the exercise of their religion death.² Yet, as Spenser remarked, they faced all penalties in performance of their duties. They spared not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Rheims, by long toil and dangerous travelling thither, where they knew the peril of death awaited them, and no reward but to draw the people unto the Church of Rome.³ The laws occasionally slept; but were revived by proclamation when the fears or

transport such Priests, Jesuits, and other persons in Popish orders, who are still in Ireland, and shall give in their names. *4th November, 1653.*"

A
84, p. 112.

¹ "Whereas John Barnewall, priest, is desirous, in conformity with the late Declaration of the said Commissioners of Parliament, to depart this nation into some of the parts beyond the seas in America; ordered that he be permitted to reside in this nation till the 7th of April next, he acting nothing to the prejudice of the Commonwealth, nor exercising his priestly function in the interim: provided the said John Barnewall do at the expiration of the term abovesaid depart this nation, according to the intention of the said proclamation. *Dated at Dublin, the 7 February, 1653.*"

A
82, p. 585.

"That the Governor of Dublin do cause all such priests in the jails as are not under suspicion of murder, to be delivered on board the ship 'Globe,' commanded by William Hazlewood, to be by him conveyed and landed at Cadiz or Malaga. *Dublin: 24 July, 1654.*"

A
83, p. 593.

"Ordered that the Mayor of Dublin be desired forthwith to press a fitt and able vessel in this port for the transportation of such a number of the Popish clergy as are to go with Lieutenant-General Farrell for Spain. *Dublin, 19th February, 1652-3.*"

A
82, p. 639.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 585.

² "Spenser's View of Ireland," p. 584.

anger of the government or people of England were aroused, as by the Powder Plot, though the Irish had no part in it. And then the priests had to fly to the woods or mountains, or to disguise themselves as gentlemen, soldiers, carters, or labourers. They had no fear that any of the Irish would betray them for all the large rewards offered. But pregnant women, and others, hastening on foot out of the Protestant parts towards those places where priests were known to be harboured, was frequently the cause of their being apprehended. In this way Connor O'Dovan, Bishop of Down, was tracked, taken, and committed prisoner to the Castle of Dublin, in 1611.¹ Barnaby Rich at this very time represents a student of Trinity College as meeting a priest, his acquaintance, in the streets of Waterford : he asks the priest what means his ruffling suit of apparel, his gilt rapier, and dagger hanging by his side, more gentleman-like than priest-like ? He accounts for his disguise by the proclamation of 1605, forbidding a priest to remain in the realm.²

Until the month of December, 1641, the Roman Catholic worship was tolerated in Dublin. But no sooner had the new regiments arrived from England, than they profaned the chapels, broke or burnt the images, seized the monks, and (writes a Capuchin friar, himself one of the victims) would have slain them, only that the Lords Justices sent them off in two ship-

¹ P. 340, "Analecta sacra nova et mira de Rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia, pro Fide et Religione Gestis, divisa in tres Partes. . . . Collectore et Relatore T. N. Philadelpho, Coloniae, 1617," p. 581. 12mo. (By Rothe, R. C. Bishop of Ossewy.)

² P. 1, "A Catholic Conference between Sir Thady Mac Marall, a Popish Priest of Waterford, and Patrick Plaine, a Young Student of Trinity College, by Dublin. Wherein is delivered the manner of execution that was used upon a Popish Bishop and a Popish Priest that for several matters of Treason were executed at Dublin, the 1st of February last, A. D. 1611. By Barnabie Rych, Gent., Servant to the King's Most Excellent Majesty." 12mo. London : 1612.

loads to France.¹ The secular clergy were again connived at, on account of the loyalty of the old English of Dublin, till the surrender of the city by Ormond to the Parliament, in July, 1647.² The new Governor, Colonel Michael Jones, (brother of Dr. Henry Jones, Bishop of Clogher, no longer Prelate, but Presbyterian, and soon after Scoutmaster-General to Cromwell's army), ordered all Papists to quit the city; and declared it death for any to sleep within the walls, or within two miles of them, or to harbour a Priest.³

After Cromwell's arrival all penalties were increased, and the Declarations against Priests more strictly executed.

Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns, fled from the massacre of Wexford, and escaped to the mountains, and passed more than five months there, with other refugees, among the wandering creaghts, often sleeping on the bare ground in the open air, in frost. Once, when the wood was surrounded, he burst through the closing lines of soldiers and escaped by the swiftness and stoutness of his horse.⁴ Father James Ford dwelt (in 1654) in an island in a large bog, surrounded by students, who built huts around him, and became his scholars.⁵

¹ "Letter of Fr. Nicholas, Superior of the Capuchins of Dublin. Pictavii, 12 July, 1642." "Memoirs of the Most Reverend Oliver Plunket, Primate, &c. By the Rev. Patrick F. Moran, D. D." Introduction, p. xi. James Duffy. 8vo. Dublin: 1861.

² "Inhabitants of Dublin and Drogheda adhering to the Royal Authority till 1647, and since expulsed from their habitations and estates in the time of usurped power (or their heirs and widows, if dead), to be restored to their former houses, lands, and freedoms." Act of Settlement, 14 & 15 Charles II. (A. D. 1662), chap. ii., sect. 178.

³ "Relatio quarundam Notabilium, &c." "Report of certain remarkable Events in Ireland, from 1641 to 1650, in the archives of the Irish College at Rome." Moran's Life of Primate Plunket, p. xii.

⁴ "Litt. Nicol. Fernens. Ep. ad Internuntium." Letter of Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns, to the Internuncio. Dated Antwerp, January, 1673. "Moran's Life of Archbishop Plunket," p. xxiii.

⁵ "Status Soc. J. an. 1654." Condition of the Society of Jesus in the year 1654. Ibid., p. 99.

Father Christopher Netterville lay hid for an entire year in the family burial vault, and, being near seized, had to hide himself in a quarry, and there continued his ministrations.¹ The Priests assumed all disguises. Jesuits as peasants or beggars visited the towns, and now in one house, now in another, said mass.²

The few survivors of the Franciscans and Capuchins lived (1650–1654) as shepherds, herdsmen, and ploughmen.³ A Capuchin father, in his letter from Waterford to his Superior at Rome (30th June, 1651), stated that he passed freely about the city, being gardener to the chief Protestant there, and sometimes acting as coal porter at the quay.⁴ This was Father Nugent; and Colonel Lawrence, Governor of Waterford (alluded to), used to tell in after times how zealous he was in attending family prayer and public meeting. So much so, that Mr. John Cook, Chief Justice of Munster, resident at Waterford, with a fine mansion in the city, and another at Kilbarry, beside the town, for his country house⁵ (both taken from the former owners), pleased with his piety, borrowed him

¹ "Status Rei Catholicae, &c." Condition of Catholic Affairs in 1654. In the Archives of the Irish College at Rome. *Ibid.*, p. xl ix.

² "Missio Soc. Jesu in Hib." Mission of the Society of Jesus in Ireland to the year 1655. *Ibid.*, p. xxxviii.

³ "Petition presented to the Sacred Congregation in 1654." "Moran's Life of Primate Oliver Plunket," p. xxxviii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

⁵ "Provided that this Act (for Satisfaction of Adventurers and Soldiers) shall not extend to the dwelling-house of John Cook, one of the Justices for the province of Munster, situate in the city of Waterford, nor to the farm of Kilbarry, being two ploughlands and a half lying within the liberty of the said city, or to the farm of Barnhaley, in the county of Cork, which are in his possession, and are hereby settled on him and his heirs for ever, for his good and faithful services in Ireland, and in lieu of all arrears of pension due unto him for the same." Act (of Satisfaction), dated 26 September, 1653, last clause. Scobell's "Acta." Cook's estate was granted to Sir George Lane by the Act of Settlement, 14 & 15 Charles II. (A. D. 1662), chap. ii., sect. 8.

from Colonel Lawrence to attend him into England.¹ This Chief Justice Cook was a most sweet man, and a great comfort to the godly, both to their souls, bodies, and estates, and did much good, both in his Circuits and about Wexford (where he had other forfeited lands), and was, in all things, a great blessing to that nation.²

He has left a most interesting account of the preservation from shipwreck of the ship carrying himself and his wife, and Colonel Saunders, and others, and the Lord Lieutenant-General's, and Major-General's (Cromwell's and Ireton's) baggage from Wexford to Kinsale, through his prayers. He pressed his dear Saviour not to drown him. "If thou drownest those that love thee," he said, "what wilt thou do with thine enemies?" He then had a vision of two hours' duration, and thought he was with his sweet Redeemer in a large upper chamber, where was a long table with two candles, two trenchers, and tobacco and pipes; and a many shipmen that had barks at Wexford, come to beg their safety. Cook asked Christ for the lives of all in their ship. "In what ship," said He. "The Hector" said Cook. "It is a bad name" (said He) for such as serve me: 'Hector' is for Heathens. But you shall be as safe as if you were in Codd's boat,³ or in the Governor's house at Wexford." He then asked for the safety of the Lieutenant-General's and Major-General's goods. "But they are not there," said Christ. "No! Lord," said Cook, "they are fighting thy battles." During the early part of this five days' agony, it almost split Cook's heart to think what the Malignants would say in England when they heard that

¹ "Foxes and Firebrands." Part II. p. 139. Second Edition. Dublin: 1682.
[By Robert Ware, son of Sir James Ware.]

² "Several Proceedings in Parliament, &c. from 10th to 17th April, 1651."
p. 1241.

³ "A boat in Wexford that we went in towards the ship in the bay, and were driven back several times" says Cook).

he and his wife were drowned¹—not foreseeing how much they would laugh some ten years afterwards, when he was hanged. For he was executed as a Regicide for having acted as Solicitor-General for the People of England at the King's trial. And the Royalists thereupon sang—

“Find out the man, quoth Pluto,²
That is the greatest sinner :
If Cook be he, then Cook shall be
The cook to cook my dinner.”³

Father Nugent, after staying for a while with Mr. Chief Justice Cook, returned to his old master, Colonel Lawrence. But at the Restoration he became parish priest of Leixlip, near Dublin, a few miles beyond Chapelizod, then the summer residence of the Lord Lieutenant. For it was purchased by the Duke of Ormond, with the manor and lands, from Sir Maurice Eustace, when Ormond formed the Phœnix Park. There Colonel Richard Lawrence was made by the Duke of Ormond manager of the Cloth Mills he had set up; and as often as Father Nugent passed him,⁴ he never failed to laugh at the Colonel, considering how he had played the dissembler with him as if he had been one of the Colonel's own fraternity, who was an Anabaptist.⁵

¹ “A True Relation of Mr. John Cook's Passage by sea from Wexford to Kinsale, in that great Storm, January 5th [1649–50]. Wherein is related the Strangeness of the Storm and the frame of his spirit in it. Also the Vision that he saw in his sleep, and how it was revealed that he should be preserved, which came to pass miraculously.” Printed at Cork, and Reprinted at London. 8vo. 1650.

² The Satan, Devil, or King of the Infernal Regions, among the ancient Greeks and Romans.

³ “Collection of Loyal Songs,” vol. ii., p. 13. See “Hudibras,” by Dr. Zackary Grey, vol. ii., p. 344, n.

⁴ No place is assigned in “Foxes and Firebrands;” but there can be little doubt that it was at Chapelizod, from the circumstances above mentioned.

⁵ “This the Colonel himself cannot deny; for he told the author this story on the 28th day of March, 1681, besides to others yet living in the city of Dub-

Thus disguised and harboured by the people, it was no easy matter to come at the Irish Priests. And though many had obtained permission, at their own request, to transport themselves to foreign parts, they were found to have deferred their departure. The government, accordingly, on 6th January, 1652-3, by Declaration, introduced the sanguinary English Statute, 27th Elizabeth (A. D. 1585), and declared all Roman Catholic Priests to be guilty of high treason, and their relievers felons.¹ But they suspended the effect for twenty days, and gave them this time to reach the ports. This was published at Clonmel on 21 January, 1652-3. And Mr. Justice John Cook, at a general sessions held before him at Clonmel, cried out aloud from the bench that all Irishmen living on 23rd October, 1641, or born since in Ireland to that

lin, who can testify this narrative for truth." "Foxes and Firebrands," Part ii., p. 139.

¹ "Order for Banishing all Priests.

"Whereas, it is now manifest from many years' experience that Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and persons in Popish Orders in Ireland, estrange the affections of the people from due obedience to the English Commonwealth, and under pretence of Religion excite them to rebellion, which gave rise to the barbarous murders of 1641, and the destructive war which followed. And whereas many persons who obtained leave to transport themselves beyond seas do nevertheless delay their departure. Now, that such persons may have no further opportunity of leading people astray, from which no ordinary admonition can withhold them, though they thus expose their lives to danger, and threaten to ruin this miserable nation, they are all to withdraw in twenty days; but outstaying this time, or returning after they have once withdrawn, they will be subjected to the penalties of the 27th Elizabeth. Given at Dublin, 6 January, 1652-3.

Signed, "CHARLES FLEETWOOD. EDMUND LUDLOW.
 MILES CORBET. JOHN JONES."

"The Rise, Growth, and Fall of the Family of the Geraldines, Earls of Desmond; to which is added the Persecution of the Irish by the English. Collected out of various works by Friar Dominic de Rosario O'Daly, Head of the Dominican Order in Portugal. Printed at Lisbon A. D. 1655, p. 225. Translated by the Rev. C. P. Meehan, and republished at Dublin by James Duffy." 12mo.
1847.

same day, were all traitors by an order made at Derby House.¹ Under this measure more than one thousand priests were sent into exile, and amongst them all the surviving Bishops but one, the Bishop of Kilmore, who, weighed down by age and infirmities, as he was unable to perform his functions, so too he was unable to fly.²

Five pounds was the reward payable to any person lodging a priest in gaol.³ It was under this provision that the heavy burdens complained of by Major Morgan were incurred. The numbers of priests lodged in gaol, and the frequency of the rewards, attest the activity of the pursuit. Such orders as the following are abundant:—10th August, 1657—Five pounds, on the certificate of Major Thomas Stanley, to Thomas Gregson, Evan Powel, and Samuel Ally (being three soldiers of Colonel Abbot's regiment of Dragoons), for the arrest of Donogh Hagerty, a Popish priest, by them taken, and now secured in the county gaol of Clonmel;⁴ to be equally distributed between them. To Arthur Spunner, Robert Pierce, and John Bruen, five pounds, to be divided equally among them, for the good service by them performed in apprehending and bringing before the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Justice Pepys, the 21st of January last (1657), one Edmund Duin, a Popish priest.⁵ To Lieut. Edward Wood, on the certificate of William St. George, Esq., J.P., of the county of Cavan, dated 6th November, 1658, twenty-five pounds, for five priests and friars by him apprehended, viz. : Thomas M'Kernan,

¹ "Memorials of the War of 1641. Written in the year 1657, by James Kearney, of Fethard," p. 4. "Carte Papers," vol. lxiv., p. 432.

² "Brevis Relatio, &c., by Dr. William Burgatt, agent of the Irish Clergy in Rome (afterwards Archbishop of Cashel)." Presented to the Sacred Congregation. Dr. Moran's "Life of Primate Oliver Plunket," p. xlvi.

³ $\frac{A}{82}$, p. 635; $\frac{A}{90}$, p. 396.

⁴ Treasury Orders, p. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

Turlough O'Gowan, Hugh M^cGeown, Turlough Fitzsymons, who upon examination confessed themselves to be both priests and friars.¹ 13th April, 1657, To Sergeant Humphry Gibbs, and Corporal Thomas Hill (of Colonel Leigh's company), ten pounds for apprehending two Popish priests (viz. Maurice Prendergast, and Edmund Fahy), who were secured in the gaol of Waterford; and being afterward arraigned, were both of them adjudged to be and accordingly were transported into foreign parts.²

In prison their condition may be realized by such orders as the following:—“*4th August, 1654.* Ordered, on the petition of Roger Begs, priest, now prisoner in Dublin, setting forth his miserable condition by being nine months in prison, and desiring liberty to go among his friends into the country for some relief; that he be released upon giving sufficient security that within four months he do transport himself to foreign parts, beyond the seas, never to return, and that during that time he do not exercise any part of his priestly functions, nor move from where he shall choose to reside in, above five miles, without permission.³ Ordered, same date, on the petition of William Shiel, priest, that the said William Sheil being old, lame, and weak, and not able to travel without crutches, he be permitted to reside in Connaught where the Governor of Athlone shall see fitting, provided, however, he do not remove one mile beyond the appointed place without licence, nor use his priestly function.”⁴

At first the place of transportation was Spain. Thus:—“*1st of February, 1653.* Ordered that the Governor of Dublin take effectual course whereby the priests now in the several prisons of Dublin be forthwith shipped with the party going

¹ Treasury Orders, p. 300.

² Ibid.

³ $\frac{A}{4}$, p. 364.

⁴ $\frac{A}{82}$, p. 513.

for Spain ; and that they be delivered to the officers on ship-board for that purpose : care to be taken that under the colour of exportation they be not permitted to go into the country."¹

" 29th May, 1654. Upon reading the petition of the Popish priests now in the jails of Dublin ; ordered, that the Governor of Dublin take security of such persons as shall undertake the transportation of them, that they shall with the first opportunity be shipped for some parts in amity with the Commonwealth, provided the five pounds for each of the said priests due to the persons that took them, pursuant to the tenor of a declaration dated 6th January, 1653, be first paid or secured."²

But no orders could keep them from ministering to their flocks. Of this there are many instances. 4th January, 1655, there was paid to Captain Thomas Shepherd the sum of five pounds, pursuant to the declaration of 6th May, 1653, for a party of his company that on 27th November last took a priest, with his appurtenances, in the house of one Owen Birne, of Cool-ne-Kishin, near Old Leighlin, in the county of Catherlogh, which said priest, together with Birne, the man of the house, were brought prisoners to Dublin.³ On the 8th of the same month, Richard and Thomas Tuite, Edmund and George Barnwell, and William Fitzsimons, all names belonging to what would now be called the Catholic gentry, maintained the castle of Baltrasna, in the county of Meath, in defence and rescue of a priest supposed to have repaired thither to say mass. For this they were arrested, and their goods seized. To these Cornet Greatrex and his soldiers laid claim, on the ground of a forcible entry of the said castle, kept

¹ $\frac{A}{82}$, p. 629.

² $\frac{A}{85}$, p. 418.

³ $\frac{A}{10}$, p. 7. Orders of Council, Late Auditor-General's Records, Custom House Buildings, vol. x., p. 204.

against them with arms and ammunition by such who maintained a priest in his idolatrous worship, in opposition to the declaration of the State in that behalf.¹

As nothing could hitherto hinder them from administering to their flocks, the Commissioners for Ireland began to transport them to Barbadoes, to prevent them from returning to their own and their people's destruction. On 8th December, 1655, in a letter from the Commissioners to the Governor of Barbadoes, advising him of the approach of a ship with a cargo of proprietors deprived of their lands, and then seized for not transplanting, or banished for having no visible means of support (though the charity of the Irish never yet failed such victims of the law, whether of high or low degree), they add that amongst them were three priests ; and the Commissioners particularly desire they may be so employed as they may not return again where that sort of people are able to do much mischief, having so great an influence over the Popish Irish, and of alienating their affections from the present Government.² Yet these penalties did not daunt them, or prevent their recourse to Ireland. In consequence of the great increase of priests towards the close of the year 1655, a general arrest by the justices of peace was ordered, under which, in April, 1656, the prisons in every part of Ireland seem to have been filled to overflowing. On 3rd of May the governors of the respective precincts were ordered to send them with sufficient guards from garrison to garrison to Carrickfergus, to be there put on board such ship as should sail with the first opportunity to the Barbadoes.³ One may imagine the pains of this toilsome journey by the petition of one of them. Paul

¹ $\frac{\text{A}}{6}$, p. 45; *ibid.*, p. 65, 67.

² $\frac{\text{A}}{30}$, p. 115.

³ $\frac{\text{A}}{10}$, p. 102.

Cashin, an aged priest, apprehended at Maryborough, and sent to Philipstown on the way to Carrickfergus, there fell desperately sick, and, being also extremely aged, was in danger of perishing in restraint for want of friends and means of relief. On 27th of August, 1656, the Commissioners having ascertained the truth of his petition, they ordered him sixpence a day during his sickness ; and (in answer probably to this poor prisoner's prayer to be spared from transportation), their order directed that it should be continued to him in his travel thence (after his recovery) to Carrickfergus, in order to his transportation to the Barbadoes.¹

At Carrickfergus the horrors of approaching exile seem to have shaken the firmness of some of them; for on 23rd September, 1656, Colonel Cooper, who had the charge of the prison, reporting that several would under their hands renounce the Pope's supremacy, and frequent the Protestant meetings, and no other, he was directed to dispense with the transportation of such of them as he could satisfy himself would do so without fraud or design, on their obtaining Protestant security for their future good conduct.²

But even in Barbadoes the Government did not seem to consider them secure, or perhaps the cost of transporting them may have been too heavy. For on 27th February, 1657, they referred it to His Excellency to consider where the priests then in prison in Dublin might be most safely disposed of; and thenceforth the Isles of Arran, lying out thirty miles in the Atlantic, opposite the entrance to the Bay of Galway, and the Isle of Innisboffin, off the coast of Connemara, became their prisons.³ In these storm-beaten islands they dwelt in colonies during the three concluding years of the Commonwealth rule in Ireland, in cabins built for them by the Government,

¹ $\frac{A}{12}$, p. 217.

² $\frac{A}{10}$, p. 179.

³ Ib., p. 277.

and maintained on an allowance of sixpence a day.¹ Yet still in all parts of the nation there was found a succession of these intrepid soldiers of religion to perform their sworn duties, meeting the relics of their flocks in old raths, under trees, and in ruined chapels,² or secretly administering to individuals in the very houses of their oppressors, and in the ranks of their armies.

THIRD BURDENSOME BEAST, THE TORY.

The great aim of the transplantation was to give security to the English planters.³ For this forty thousand of the most active of the old English and Irish nobility and gentry and commons, who had borne arms in the ten years' war were forced to abandon wife and children, home and country, and embark for Spain; for this their deserted wives and children, and all the remaining landed proprietors, their families and

¹ "To Col. Tho^r. Sadleir, Governor of Galway, the sum of £100 upon account, to be by him issued as he shall conceive meet for the maintenance of such Popish priests as are or shall be confined in the island of Buffin, after the allowance of sixpence *per diem* each. And for building of cabbins, and other necessary accommodation for them. *Dated 3rd July, 1657.*" Treasury Warrants, p. 352.

² In the bishops' returns appended to Primate Boulter's Report to the Lords' Committee on the present state of Popery in Ireland (A. D. 1732), it is common to find masses said in huts, in old forts, and at moveable altars in the fields. An English tourist writes in 1746:—"The poorer sort of Irish natives are Roman Catholics, who make no scruple [toleration was advancing at this time] to assemble in the open fields. As we passed yesterday in a by-road, we saw a priest under a tree, with a large assembly about him, celebrating mass in his proper habit; and though at a great distance from him we heard him distinctly." Chetwood's "Tour through Ireland," p. 163. 12mo. London: 1746.

³ "To the end, therefore, that the country of Ireland may be planted and settled with security unto such as shall plant and inhabit the same." Preamble to the Act for the Satisfaction of Adventurers and Soldiers, passed 27th September, 1653.

next heirs,¹ their tenants, with their wives, sons, and daughters, were forced into Connaught. With this view, the country was laid waste, wherever crops or cattle were liable to afford support to the Irish who had not submitted to be transplanted or transported; in order that those to whom caves and inaccessible mountains had afforded a retreat, might find no nourishment of any kind; and whole districts were put out of protection, so that men or women found there were to be shot as spies and enemies, unless they had a pass or ticket of protection.

Thus, the Committee for transplanting the Irish declared (29 December, 1653), the whole county of Kerry, and the adjacent fast countries in Cork and Limerick, to be out of protection as to Irish and Papist, in order to prevent any relief to Tories, and hinder incursions into the English plantations; also the five counties within the line of the Liffey, south of Dublin, and the Barrow, and such parts of Leitrim, Cavan, and Fermanagh, as lie between Lough Erne and the Shannon, and the West Sea.² Bound their garrisons they

¹ "And whereas the children, grandchildren, brothers, nephews, uncles, and next pretended heirs of the persons attainted, do remain in the provinces of Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, having little or no visible estates or subsistence, but living only and coshering upon the common sort of people who were tenants to or followers of the respective ancestors of such persons, waiting an opportunity, as may justly be supposed, to massacre and destroy the English who as adventurers or souldiers, or their tenants, are set down to plant upon the several lands and estates of the persons so attainted," they are to transplant or be transported to the English plantations in America. Act for Attainder of the Rebels in Ireland, passed 1656. Scobell's "Acts and Ordinances."

² "Places to be wholly cleared of Irish and Papist." ^A ₈₅, p. 16. "Places in Connaught out of Protection." The following places as known harbours for the enemy, and other bloody and mischievous persons, who from thence take advantage, &c., ordered to be out of protection:—All the county of Leitrim (except the baronies of Leitrim, Mohill, and Dromaheere), in Roscommon, Hanly's Country, Ardagh, and Fenhowle; all the county of Mayo (except Kil-

defined a line, where they supposed no Tories could venture. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood were ordered to retire within it, under pain of being out of protection, but they were first allowed to sow their spring corn, that when ripe, the garrison might camp out and guard the reaping and inning of it. Thus the inhabitants of Shanganah and Loughlinstown, five miles south of Dublin, were (21 March, 1652-3), to have six weeks' time to remove themselves within the line, in order to sow their spring corn, and to have two persons to watch their growing crop and dwellings. And Colonel Hewson was to grant them tickets of protection, to secure them against being shot by the English.¹ And the inhabitants of the barony of Carlow, and part of Idronre were (10th May, 1652) to have so much of their corn in unprotected places spared, as Colonel Pretty should advise.²

The Irish had been encouraged to keep fighting, in order to effect a diversion in favour of Charles II.'s attempt to recover England by the aid of the Scots. But that scheme being ended by the battle of Worcester (3rd September, 1651), the King advised them to make terms for themselves.³ This, however, they were reluctant to do, because no terms were to be expected except slavery or banishment. Broghill

maine, Carrow, and Tyrawley); in Galway, the baronies of Moycullen, Ballinahinchy, the half baronies of Ross, of Borrishool, of Arran, of Kullihane; the parishes of Breenagh, Kilkerrin, Moylagh, in the barony of Tyaquin; the parish of Ballinakelly, in the barony of Longford; in Sligo, the barony of Coolavinn (except the Randes); the inhabitants to be warned by Sir Charles Coote, President of Connaught, to remove by 15th March next; in default, themselves, their cattle, and goods, to be treated as enemies. ^A ₈₂, p. 134.

¹ ₈₂, p. 722.

² Ibid., p. 224.

³ "A Breefe of the Defence made in Answer to the objections offered to invalidate the Peace granted to the Irish in 1648," Lib. H., p. 75. "Collections relating to the Act of Settlement," Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

now proposed to the Commissioners of Parliament (2nd January, 1651-2), and his proposal was adopted, that such of the Irish soldiers as should come in and deliver up one or more field officers of their party, to be proceeded against according to justice, should be received into protection, and be assigned some place of security out of the Parliament's quarters, to defend themselves from the enemy.¹ But none of them were capable of this treachery. Upon the surrender of the Leinster army, under the articles signed at Kilkenny (12th May, 1652), the Commissioners of Parliament called upon the rest of the Irish (22 May, 1652), to lay down their arms on or before the 30th June following; and to enforce it, put £500 on Lord Muskerry's head, £300 on Lord Mountgarret's, £300 on Colonel Richard Grace's, £200 on Lord Iveagh's, £200 on Colonel David Roch's (son of Maurice Lord Roch, of Fermoy), and like sums on the head of every commander standing out after that day (all named), to be paid to any of their soldiers bringing in their heads.²

This was the favourite resource of the English, who had long dealt with Irish heads as playthings; sometimes, however, rather expensive and dangerous ones; for they were not the men to give their heads for the washing.³ In Edward IV.'s day, any one cutting off the head of an Irishman found within the English Pale, or four obedient counties of Meath, Louth, Kildare, and Dublin, unaccompanied by an Englishman, and bringing it to the Portrieve, or Mayor of Trim, Ardee, Naas, or Dublin, to spike up on the Castle Walls, or over the Gates, was to receive twopence from every town-

¹ A
82, p. 105.

² Ibid., pp. 237-239; and p. 313.

³ "In truth it never shall be said,

I for the washing gave my head."—"Hudibras."

land.¹ In the Treasurer's accounts of Queen Elizabeth's day, "Head Money" appears as a heavy item. But the Irish soldiers were too true to be tempted to murder their officers by these vile bribes. They had no more success than Broghill's scheme. The different parties came in one after another, and made regular capitulations for themselves and their forces, and (for the most part) accepted banishment and transportation to Spain.²

The Parliament of England had now, indeed, stripped Ireland bare. Her swordmen transported; her nobles and gentry transplanted to Connaught, or banished, and their former inheritances measured out for the families of English Adventurers and soldiers to occupy. Now, indeed, it might be said of Ireland—

" Oh Ireland, base and shameless woman !
 Like hooded harlot false and vile :
 With breast to every stranger common,
 No mother's love is in thy smile.

" Thy bosom, Erin, soft and swelling,
 No milk affords thy offspring now ;
 For in thy arms securely dwelling,
 Are litters of a foreign sow.

" Where are thy young men, lion-hearted ?
 Their fathers where, who once were free ?
 Are all the brave and sage departed,
 By force or fraud exiled from thee ?"³

This last was the real purpose of the English in transporting the swordmen to Spain. But, though all the leaders of the Irish people might be taken off, the nation survived in

¹ Statute 5th Edward IV. (A. D. 1465), chapters 12, 13, 14, 15. In the printed Statutes only chap. 12 is given.

² See "The Departure of the Swordmen for Spain," p. 86, *supra*.

³ Translated from the Irish. "The Keene of the South of Ireland," p. 8. 12mo. London : 1845. For the Percy Society. Edited by T. Crofton Croker.

the peasants. The English thought that the relics of the Irish would now submit, and make the best of it. They were accustomed only to their own submissive rural classes, who represent the defeated and subdued Saxons, as their gentry do by their pride and bearing (though not, perhaps, by blood) the conquering Normans. They little knew the hearts full of the noblest fire that beat under the poorest rags in Ireland, nor the unconquerable mind of the inhabitants of those frail dwellings of wattle covered with collops or long stripes of turf. Here, however, after 500 years of conquest, dwelt an unsubdued people,¹ impatient of English laws, much more of suppression and servitude.²

Under a rude outside they were endued with one of the acutest and freest minds in Europe. Each of these men, bearing his great heart above despair, watched for vengeance on the enemies of his race, and waited for the resurrection of his country.

They scorned the preaching of their priests and gentry of English blood. They knew them to be as truly English at heart as the children of the old Romans, though born in Britain, were still Romans.³ When the only hope of safety for both naturalized English and native Irish was a union to support King Charles II., the Irish refused it. They would not be parties to placing their country, as the gentry desired, under the rule of a people that for ages had injured them and scorned them. Father Christopher Plunket, a friar of English race, was employed to the Irish party in 1650. He reported that they would rather pull God out of His throne,

¹ King James I. to Sir Arthur Chichester (A. D. 1613). Close Rolls of Chancery. Morrin's "Calendar," p. 625.

² "Sir Arthur Chichester to the Lords of the Council in England. 2nd February, 1609-10." *Ibid.*, p. 639.

³ See Lord Dunsany's Letter, *suprad.*, p. 256, n.

or throw themselves headlong into the sea, than become loyal to the Crown of England.¹ They knew that the King of England would be the puppet of the Parliament. And they had ever known the Parliament as a body of conspirators against the religion, property, liberties, good fame, and very existence of the Irish people.

The Irish, thus defeated by the overpowering force of England, or rather by the coldness for the contest of their half-hearted leaders, most of them of the old English blood, who feared the victory for the nation more than conquest by the enemy, now dispersed themselves in woods and moun-

¹ "So far hath the spirit of ambition and dissension invaded the hearts of some of that nation, that they will sooner pull God out of his throne, or throw themselves headlong into the sea, than become loyal to the Crown of England. They have sent three legats to Leopoldus [Duke of Lorraine] since the last of August, presenting him the kingdom of Ireland upon very slight terms—a ridiculous thing, but very malicious, if it have an event, as it is thought it will ; and that, by ways, I cannot commit to paper. There were also, since June last, upwards of 22 Agents sent hither, to Low Countries and Germany, to gather moneys in the Confederate Catholics of Ireland's name ; which they have done in abundance.

"The chiefest of them was one Francis Edmonds, James Dillon, Sir Laurence the priest, and one of our order named M'Gruorck, who, to colour his practises, or rather that he might more efficaciously work upon Prelates and Noblemen's purses, made two great rolls of parchment, which he commonly shewed in all places where he begged ; in one of these rolls he placed such as were defenders and supporters of the Catholic religion in Ireland—to wit, Owen O'Neil, and a very few more : in the other he placed all heretics, and such as studies the ruin of the Catholic religion—viz. the Council (*nemine excepto*) and most of the nobility and gentry of the whole kingdom. These and the foul aspersions cast upon you in Paul King's libel, took such impression in the breasts of Prelates, noblemen, and religious in these parts, that they think absolutely that all our Council, nobility, &c., are but mere heretics, &c."

"Extract of a Letter from Christopher Plunket, a Franciscan friar, to Sir Nicholas Plunket, from Bruxells, or Bruges, without date, but accompanied with other letters of the 24th of April, 1650, taken 22 June, 1650." "Carte Papers," vol. xxviii., p. 5.

tains and bogs, and thence fell down like wolves on the usurpers of their homes and country. These were the Tories.¹

¹ For want of an organized treasury, it was customary towards the close of the war of 1641, to assign the different regiments "a month's means" in such and such a barony. Partisan bands under no command were connived at, and lived at free quarters ; but this, at last, became such an evil that Ormonde issued a proclamation against them, ordering them to enlist in His Majesty's army, or be deemed traitors. In the proclamation is the first public use of the term "Tory." The following petition exhibits the evils of this state :—

"The humble Petition of Edmund Wale, Esq.,

" Most humbly shewing to your Excellency a scantlet of his late sufferings and pressures offered unto him by some of his neighbours and other Idle Boys. First, that albeit your Petitioner was mightily impoverished by the heavy contribution and eight days entertainment for horse and man, to a party consisting of 150 horse, forced from him by Cromwell's army, as by the annexed may appear, whereby he lost his whole substance in corn, to the value of £200. Yet your Petitioner's farm of Knockbally Meagher and Tomonin [on the Devil's Bit mountain ?], being a remote nook of the county of Tipperary, between woods and bogs, and always since the access of Cromwell's army into the said county, as a place of safety frequented by several crews of Idle Boys adhering to Thomas O'Meagher, of Bolibane, Captain Brann O'Birne, and several others who, ceasing and quartering themselves on your Petitioner and his tenants in the said Lands, plundered, eat up, and consumed all their livelihood, whereby your Petitioner's Tenants were altogether beggared and banisht. Secondly, that the said Idle Boys, by the procurement of the said Thomas O'Meagher, about the 8th day of April last, fired and burned your Petitioner's House in the baon [bawn ?] of Moydromma ; and the said Brann O'Birne, accompanied with at least 140 armed, came in a hostile manner on the 13th of the said month, and broke open, pulled down and rased your Petitioner's Stone House at Knockbally Meagher, and took of your Petitioner's Cattle 12 Muttons and 2 principal Beefs. Thirdly, that in the like hostile manner, one Captain Dowdal, beside £4 contribution (as he termed it) by him forced from your Petitioner, with a party of Musketeers in his company, about the 24th of March last pillaged your Petitioner of a Horse, price £40 sterling, with a sword and fowling piece, and afterwards pillaged him of 42 Muttons, price £20, at least.

" Lastly, that Florence Fitzpatrick, Daniel Ro O'Phelan, Donogh O'Felan, Gillpatrick Dullanie, Edmond M'Feragh, and Simon Hill, with divers other armed men, both horse and foot, in like hostile manner, on the 8th of this month, preyed and pillaged your Petitioner and his said poor Tenants of the

The Parliament had for ages made the killing an Irishman no murder, and the taking his lands no robbery.¹ Yet this retribution of the Tories on the Cromwellians was of course always called outrage and murder; and for their preys they were called robbers. As such they were solemnly hanged, being something akin to that which so tickled the fancy of the Laughing philosopher of old: but here it was not the big thieves (as he described it), leading the little thieves, but the plunderers leading the plundered, to the gallows.

In 1647 war was still raging, and incursions were made into the Irish quarters by the English, and into the English quar-

only remnant and small relief left them by all former pillagers, to the number of 73 cows and five garrans; and what they killed not of them they imbeazled and distributed, as well among themselves as to Donogh O'Dullany, Dermot O'Costigan, and others, leaving your Petitioner without any manner of relief. The premises considered, and inasmuch as the said proceedings were done and committed on your Petitioner in apparent contempt of your Excellency's order of protection, by him from time to time produced, and shown to the said parties severally, and are not only to his loss and damage at least £1000 sterling, but even to his utter ruin and banishment from house and home, if not relieved. It may please your Excellency strictly to require, &c. Dated 24 May, 1650." "Carte Papers," vol. clvii., p. 125. By his proclamation, dated from "Clare [Castle], 25 September, 1650," Ormonde orders all these loose and ill-disposed persons that pillage the protected inhabitants of Leinster, and will not submit to any commands, living upon the people of the country, and that "are termed Tories or Idle Boys," to enlist in His Majesty's army, or be deemed traitors. "Carte Papers," vol. clxii., p. 358.

¹ "The Irish (says Sir J. Davis) were not only disabled to bring any Actions, but they were so far out of the protection of the law, as it was often adjudged no felony to kill a 'meer' Irishman in time of peace. That they were reputed Aliens appears by many sundry records, wherein judgment is demanded if they shall be answered in actions brought by them." He then gives the pleadings in 28 Ed. III., where Simon Neal brought an action against William Newlagh for breaking and entering his close at Clondalkin, near Dublin, being the mode of defending one's possession.

Newlagh pleaded that Neal was not one of the Five bloods; but it was found he was one of the O'Neals of Ulster, entitled to English law, and he kept his land, which otherwise he had lost. "Discoverie why Ireland was never Entirely Subdued," p. 638.

ters by the Irish, and cattle carried off by each side. This Colonel Michael Jones, Governor of Dublin, declared could not be by the Irish unless by the connivance of their kindred and friends, and tenants living protected within the English quarters. It was conquerors' logic. If questioned, it would be made good by the sword. No Papist dared deny it. He accordingly issued his Declaration (of 2nd November, 1647), making the Irish in the English quarters responsible for the outrages committed on the persons, goods, and estates of the Protestants by their kindred from the enemies' quarters. But the poor kindred, living "under protection" (the protection of protectors who could not, or did not protect them), were soon stripped bare. Colonel Hewson, who succeeded Colonel Michael Jones as Governor of Dublin, issued another proclamation on 25 February, 1649-50, declaring that such was the neglect and contempt of the former proclamation by the protected Irish that there were daily murders, robberies, and other most cruel outrages committed by the Tories and rebels coming into the English quarters without control or pursuit of the Papist inhabitants. That it was through their fault he could and would, if they doubted it,

"——— convince them by
Infallible artillery."

The kindred, he stated, were difficult to be found out, and when found were not worth the finding.

He accordingly ordained that all the inhabitants within the English quarters (being Papists), that should suffer any of the said Tories and rebels to pass through any of their baronies, should contribute rateably with those of the barony where the outrage was committed, unless within ten days they made the criminals amenable. For a Cromwellian Lieut.-Colonel, Major, or Captain murdered the fine on a barony was an hundred pounds; for other persons twenty pounds. It mattered not that it was death for a Papist to have arms. He

was thus in danger to be shot by the Irish if he resisted, or if he ran to raise the hue and cry, or to be stript by the English if he didn't.¹

The levies under Colonel Jones's declaration were styled "Kincogues,"² or "kindred monies;" those under Colonel Hewson's, "prey monies." Thus, a band of Tories, in the county of Cork, rushed down, and carried back with them to the hills the cows of some new imported English. Thereupon, on 26th December, 1653, John Percival and his English tenants were ordered to be repaired their losses, either by the kindred of the Tories committing the outrage, if any such should be found within the Precinct, or against the Papist inhabitants of the adjacent baronies, or against both the kindred and the baronies, as should be thought by the Commissioners of the Revenue of the said Precinct most agreeable to justice.³

At the end of eighteen months from the time when the

¹ Proclamation of Colonel Jones, Governor of Dublin, for robberies committed by the Tories . . . within the English quarters, to be answered by the kindred of such as commit them. Dated 2nd November, 1647.

Proclamation of Colonel Hewson, Governor of Dublin, making the inhabitants, whether of kin or not of kin, and the inhabitants of the baronies through which the Tories passed, responsible. 25th February, 1650. MSS. Trin. Coll. Dub., F. 3, 18.

Instructions for putting the above in execution by the Commissioners for the Administration of Justice, and Commissioners of Revenue. ^A ₈₂, p. 72.

² "Kincogues," from "*cis*" (crime, debt, and liability), and "*comrogus*" (kindred, relations). By the Breton law, unless the tribe outlawed an offender, one of their kindred, they were collectively liable for his crime. (The statement of the late John O'Donovan, LL. D.). Among the statutes objected to by Spenser was the 11th Edw. IV., chap. 4, whereby the custom of Kin-cogish (as he calls it) was made law. By that statute every head of every sept, and every head of every kindred, should be bound to bring forth every one of that sept or kindred charged with any crime. Spenser's "View of Ireland," p. 451.

³ ^A ₈₅, p. 10. Reparation to be made for English killed by Tories in county of Cork (at Lord Broghill's instance), by the next of kin of such Tories in the

rebels were declared to be subdued, and the war or rebellion to be appeased or ended, and this great island for the first time brought under the rule of the Parliament of England, the means of the people under protection were exhausted ; and the government, which always lives upon the sweat and gold of the labouring classes, found its resources and supplies to fail, and that they must change the system.

Accordingly, they issued their proclamation (11th February, 1653-4), and thereby declared that the inhabitants of this nation were so impoverished by paying for preys and outrages done by their kindred in arms, that the contribution was in many places destroyed. They therefore forbade payment for any past losses unless suffered since the month of May previous ; and that, for the future, none should be demandable unless claimed within one month after the injury suffered.¹

These finings of the baronies having come to an end, what measures, it may be asked, did the Cromwellian Government adopt in case of murders ? In the month of March, 1655, eight of Doctor Petty's surveyors, engaged in the county of Kildare upon the survey of the confiscated estates of the exiled or imprisoned Irish gentry, called the Down Survey, were surprised by a party of Tories, headed by Blind Donogh O'Derrig, or Doyle, and carried into the woods, and

Precinct, 21st July, 1653. ^A
₈₂, p. 327. British inhabitants of Donaghedy to be reimbursed by the Irish inhabitants of Strabane for losses by the incursion of the Irish in March last. 23rd December, 1652. Ibid., p. 495. Papist inhabitants of the barony of Dunboyne to pay £185 decreed to H. Mills and W. Kennedy ; the said inhabitants of Dunboyne to recover contribution against the Papist inhabitants of Ratoath and Deese, through which the enemy passed ; or against any harbourers of said Tories, or who neglected to raise the hue and

cry. ^A
₈₄, p. 276, &c. &c.

^A
₈₂, p. 617.

there, after a kind of drum-head court martial (where they, probably, received a more orderly trial and better justice than thousands of the countrymen of Blind Donogh), were, so the English called it, barbarously murdered.¹ Rewards of £30 were offered for Blind Donogh's head; £20 for his lieutenant's, Dermot Ryan; and £5 a piece for those of his men.² They seem all to have been taken in the very house whence they carried the surveyors to the woods. For another murder the whole town of Timolin were ordered to transplant at once to Connaught.³ But they seem to have been sheltered by the officers of the neighbourhood, as well, probably, because of their innocence as their usefulness; for the Governor received a reprimand for his slackness, and an order to see the transplantation carried out. At the same time the Government issued a proclamation complaining of the little effect of their previous orders and declarations, for the prevention of the many murders and spoils committed on the poor inhabitants of this nation by Tories, Irish rebels, and other desperate persons. The Irish had been driven, they said, from garrisons, castles, and places of strength, to bogs and woods. There they lurked, watching for opportunities to commit murders and outrages, which, through the blessing of the Lord might be prevented, if the Irish inhabitants of this nation did not (contrary to the proclamations published) privately succour them; while sundry persons not giving such relief were daily taken out of their houses in the night time, and sometimes set upon as they travel upon the highway, or are surprised by these desperate persons, and carried into woods and bogs, and there murdered or kept in a miserable manner, in cold, nakedness, and hunger, and their houses burned, and their goods carried away until they pay a ransom.

¹ *Sopra*, p. 206.

² $\frac{A}{5}$, p. 241.

³ $\frac{A}{30}$, p. 42.

For a remedy, four persons of the neighbourhood, of the Irish nation and Popish religion, were to be taken, and after twenty-eight days transported to the English plantations in America, if the criminals were not previously made amenable; and all the Irish inhabitants of the Popish religion of the barony were to be transplanted except such as might prove their Constant good affection to the tyrants of their country. But no laws bind, no punishments can restrain outraged nature. The hatred of the Irish to their tyrants increased with their increasing severity.¹

Denis Brennan and Murtagh Turner, persons lately in the army and pay of the State, troopers of Colonel Hewson (probably conformers to English religion), being engaged near the Castle of Lackagh, in the same county of Kildare repairing houses of some of the transplanted inhabitants, were barbarously murdered, to the great terror of the rest of the peaceable inhabitants of the county.² All the Irish of Lackagh of the Popish religion (except four who were hanged for the benefit of the rest), to the number of thirty-seven—being three priests, twenty-one women, and thirteen men, were, on 27th November, 1655, delivered to Captain Coleman, of the Wexford frigate, for transportation to the Barbadoes.³ The names of the priests were James Tuite, Robert Keegan, and John Foley. There was also the wife of Blind Donogh, and the whole family of Mr. Henry Fitzgerald, of Lackagh Castle.⁴ Mr. Fitzgerald's case was one of great hardship. He and his wife, Mrs. Margery Fitzgerald (both of the house of Kildare) were fourscore years and upwards, and no one could charge them with being Tories or countenancing them, and they

¹ Dated at Dublin, 19th April, 1655. "Perfect Proceedings of State," &c., p. 4676.

² $\frac{A}{5}$, p. 260.

³ Ibid., p. 295.

⁴ Ibid., p. 303.

could scarcely be deemed guilty of not running after them with the hue and cry. The Tories, too, had frequently despoiled them. Yet they, with their son Maurice, their daughters Margery and Bridget, Mary, the widow of their eldest son, Henry, with their man servant and maid servant, had to lie in prison till the ship could be got ready to carry them with the rest of this miserable cargo.¹ They were assigned to the correspondents of Mr. Norton, a Bristol merchant and sugar planter, who was to be at the charge of transporting them to the Indian Bridges, now called Barbadoes.

But these severities only exasperated the Tories, who were quickened to action by the sight of their ancient gentry begging at the usurpers' doors. What must they not have felt to see Lord Roche of Fermoy and his daughters reduced to beggary, and forced to walk on foot to Connaught,² to end their days there in some cabin, while their ancient inheritance was divided between the cornet of some English regiment of horse and his troop?

“That such a worthy man as he
Should thus be put to shift;
Being late a lord of high degree,
Of living quite bereft.”³

What the feelings of John, the brother of Christian, Anstace, and Kate Roche, daughters of Jordan Roche of Limerick, to behold his sisters reduced from the affluence of a landed estate of £2000 a year to nothing to live on but what they could earn by their needles, and by washing and wringing—

¹ “Continuation of the Brief Narrative; and the Sufferings of Ireland under Cromwell, pp. 7, 8. [By Father Peter Walsh.] 4to. London: 1660.

² See above, p. 182, and Appendix I.

³ Ballad of Robin Hood.

their father's lands in the Liberties of Limerick being divided amongst the gentlemen of Cromwell's Life Guard?¹

Or of John Luttrell, transplanted with his wife and children from the ancient family estate of Luttrellstown, near Dublin, worth £2500 a year in 1640,² where for four hundred years his ancestors had fixed their affections and their name, into the barony of Clare in Galway, and there to hear of his four sisters begging the Council Board for some relief, and given ten pounds a piece, and bidden for the future not to expect any further gratuity or allowance from that Board?³

But how must the feelings of national hatred have been heightened, by seeing everywhere crowds of such unfortunates, their brothers, cousins, kinsmen, and by beholding the whole country given up a prey to hungry, insolent soldiers and Adventurers from England, mocking their wrongs, and triumphing in their own irresistible power!

Inspired by such sights, bands of desperate men formed themselves into bodies, under the leadership of some dispossessed gentleman, who had retired into the wilds when the

¹ "To the Right Honourable y^e Commissioners of y^e Commonwealth of England for y^e Affairs of Ireland."

"The humble petition of Christian Roche, Anstace Roche, Cate Roche, and John Roche, the children of Alderman Jordan Roche, deceased, sheweth that Alderman Jordan Roche decd. dyed seized of a vast reall estate to the value of £2000 a year, and likewise of a considerable personal estate, all which devolved and came to the publique: That your poore petitioners are in a sadd and deplorable condition for want of sustenance or mayntenance, and have nothing to live on but what they erne by their needles and by washing and wringing."

They pray a competent provision out of their father's estate,—"an acte very charitable and suitable to y^e civility of y^e English government."

"Petition referred to the Commissioners of Limerick precinot, to enquire and report in what qualification of the Act of Settlement this falls. Dated April, 1654." Records of the late Auditor-General's Office.

² A
—
12, p. 147.

³ Treasury Warrants, p. 194; 6th April, 1657.

rest of the army he belonged to laid down arms, or "ran out" again after submitting, and resumed them rather than transplant to Connaught.¹ He soon found associates, for the country was full of swordmen, though 40,000 took conditions from the King of Spain. Others came back from Spain with arms.²

They resolved no longer to wait for the aid of the French or Spaniards. "Are we alone," they said one to another, "of all the nations of the world, not thought fit to live in our own country? Are we alone like the profanest outlaws, to be driven from our native soil? Shall we still linger here, to show foreign nations the distinguishing mark the English have set upon us?"³

¹ "27th August, 1656. Notwithstanding the several orders wherein several days and times have been prefixed by which Papist proprietors of lands were to remove themselves, as also their wives and children, to Connaught, whereto some have yielded obedience, and many others in several parts do refuse, and from thence have taken occasion to run out again into the boggs, woods, and other the fastnesses and desert places of the land, to commit murders and robberies upon the well affected." — ^A ₁₀, p. 171.

² "24th January, 1656. That Irish Papists who had been licensed to depart this nation, and of late years have been transplanted into Spain, Flanders, and other foreign parts, have nevertheless secretly returned into Ireland with arms, occasioning the increase of Tories and other lawless persons."

^A
⁵ — ₅, p. 349.

³ And this spirit (with new-made mockery) survives at the end of two hundred years.

FLIGHT OF THE IRISH RATS TO AMERICA.

"Some years ago a West Indiaman had discharged its cargo in one of our docks at home. The ship was plagued by rats as never ship had been plagued. Their devastations, their noise, their odour, their destructions, had been beyond mortal endurance, but there was no remedy. The captain, who was still on board, was waked at midnight by his mate, and asked to step on deck as quickly as he could. A fruit ship had arrived from the Mediterranean, and on coming alongside had passed a hawser to the West Indiaman. 'Look there!' whispered the mate, pointing to the rope, which, in the darkness, seemed to be moving slowly

There now came forth a Declaration (24th January, 1654-5), that no quarter should be given to any Irish in arms, in consequence of several murders and outrages then lately done by wicked and bloody rebels of the Irish nation. Notwithstanding all those sore and grievous judgments of the Lord upon the nation, and the great misery and spoil thereof, and the mercy and favour extended by the Parliament of England to all that would live peaceably [as slaves] under the English government, they would still (so the Declaration said) keep up their attacks. Courts Martial of five officers, one to be a field officer, were now erected through the country, to try and execute or punish according to their deserts, not merely the Tories, and their harbourers and relievers (being of the Irish nation), but those not giving timely notice to the next garrison.¹

towards the fruit ship. It was alive with rats, which, in a continuous stream, were migrating from the empty ship to the stranger, whose fragrance told the tale of its delicious freight. Before sunrise there was not a rat left on board the West Indiaman. How it fared with the stranger it is needless to say. That is the very spectacle we are now witnessing on a world-wide scale. The hawser is across the Atlantic; and in one incessant endless train hundreds of thousands of *our fellow-citizens* (!) are passing to the richer Continent. We are disposed to take a philosophical view of the matter. Small holdings are already almost gone. Pasturage and large farms have taken their place. The face of the earth is Anglified, says Dr. Ingram, and so too ought the social condition of the peasant and the laws which affect it to be. But the Irish peasant would not be an English agricultural labourer if he could. He will not endure that divorce from the soil which Mr. Cobden thinks a national disgrace and calamity. He will not stake all his property on the honour and gratitude of a *good* master. He will be his own master; and, as such, he feels himself as good as any man. So he stands up for his class, and feels with his class, and conspires with it. No iron has entered into his soul: he has not bent his neck to the yoke, and borne this burden because the land was good. The balance of comfort is on the side of the English labourers; but it is a comfort he despises. It is, he thinks, a comfort without rights, a comfort without dignity, a comfort without prospects." "Times" Article. London: 4th December, 1863.

¹ $\frac{A}{26}$, p. 27.

A price was now set upon their heads.¹ The ordinary price for the head of a Tory was 40*s.*; but for leaders of Tories, or distinguished men, it varied from £5 to £30.

In a proclamation of 3rd October, 1655, already referred to,² there was offered to any that should bring in the persons hereafter named, or their heads, to the governors of any of the counties where the said Tories should be taken, the following sums, viz.: for Donnogh O'Derrick, commonly called "Blind Donnogh," the sum of £30; for Dermot Ryan, the sum of £20; for James Leigh, the sum of £5; for Laughlin Kelly, the sum of £5; or for any other Tory, thief, or robber that should be hereafter taken by any countryman, and brought dead or alive to any of the chief governors of any county or precinct, 40*s.*; and if taken and brought by any soldier, 20*s.*³ Under a similar proclamation, there appears paid, by a Treasury Warrant, to Captain Adam Loftus, on the 12th May, 1657, the sum of £20, for taking Daniel Kennedy, an Irish Tory,—his head being sent to Catherlough, to set up on the castle walls, to the terror of other malefactors.⁴ And in April of the same year, to Lieutenant Francis Rowlestone, the sum of £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, the same being in consideration of the good services by him performed in December last, in killing two Tories, viz.: Henry Archer, formerly a lieutenant in the Irish army, then a chief leading Tory; and William Shaffe, brogue-maker, then under his command; whose heads were brought to the town of Kilkenny, unto Major Redmond there, as appears by his certificate, dated 9th of April instant.⁵

It is only by an inspection of the public accounts one can gain an adequate notion of the vast number killed in this way

¹ $\frac{\text{A}}{26}$, p. 27.

² P. 206, *supra*.

³ $\frac{\text{A}}{5}$, p. 241.

⁴ Treasury Warrants p. 240.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

like wolves. On February 6, 1653-4, to Lieutenant Jaques, £20 for the head of John Byrne, a notorious Tory of the county of Wicklow, delivered to the Governor of Dublin.¹ June 14, 1654, to Major Henry Jones, £10 for the soldiers that killed and took prisoners the Tories in the county of Wicklow.² January 9, 1654-5, to Major David Shorne, for the heads of many Tories brought to Athlone, £20.³ May 14, 1655, to Nicholas Power, of Knockmore, for the head of one Daniel Mulcahy, a notorious and known Tory, delivered to the governor of Dungarvan, £2.⁴

But there were other modes of dealing for the suppression of Tories. The English, whether as soldiers or planters, were incapable of coping with these wild and lightfooted outlaws, who knew each togher (or footpath) through the quaking bogs, and every pass among the hills and woods. They were, therefore, under the necessity of calling in the aid of some of the countrymen of the Tories, who were equally skilled in the knowledge of the country, and were familiar with the habits and secrets of these outlaws. They either dealt with some Irish gentleman, for the guarding of a district, and pursuing of the Tories within it, on the terms of his being spared from transplantation for his services; or they found means to agree with any Tory not guilty of any previous murder, to murder any two of his comrades as the price of his own pardon.

Life at this time had become of little value; there was no public cause to maintain; the armies had surrendered. Men were like wolves lying out in the woods and bogs of this de-

¹ $\frac{A}{I}$, p. 72.

² Order Book of Council, vol. x., p. 28. Late Auditor-General's Records.

³ $\frac{A}{I}$, p. 216.

⁴ Auditor-General's Records, vol. x., p. 22.

solated island, their friends and families dead or banished. It is no wonder that, between threats and rewards, men should be tempted to betray and murder one another. Major Morgan's boast, however, that brothers and cousins cut one another's throats, is only one of those calumnies this ill-fated country has for ages been the victim of. On the contrary, their inviolable fidelity throughout all ages to those that defend their cause has oftener afforded matter of reproach to their revilers.

Arms and ammunition were now intrusted to Irishmen to hunt and kill Tories,¹ just as they were employed to kill wolves. Thus, on 14th October, 1659, there was an order empowering Colonel Henry Prettie to employ twenty Irish with guns and ammunition into the counties of Carlow and Kilkenny, for three months, to find and destroy the Tories in the said counties.² And a similar order for Lieutenant-Colonel Nelson in King's and Queen's Counties. They frequently may have shot others besides Tories and got paid for their heads; but the Commissioners of Parliament no doubt, thought they could not shoot amiss, so they shot somebody,³ and no great loss if somebody shot them.

But not only were common Irish employed against the Tories, but gentlemen, as Major Charles Kavanagh, one of the McMurrrough family,—a family which retained great possessions in the county of Carlow, in consideration of their being of those Irishmen that first brought Englishmen into Ireland,⁴ but which they were now to forfeit. To reduce the Tories of the county of Carlow, the government in the year

¹ $\frac{\Delta}{7}$, p. 74.

² Id., ib.

³ "He [O'Neil] might hang 500 each year. He could not hang amiss, so he hangs somebody." Captain Lee to Queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1594. "Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica," vol. i., p. 108.

⁴ "State Papers of Henry VIII." (Ireland), vol. ii., p. 571.

1656, came to an agreement with Major Charles Kavanagh to dispense with his transplantation to Connaught, and with that of thirteen Irishmen, of his own selection as his assistants, for the purpose of prosecuting and destroying Tories in that county, and in the adjoining counties of Wicklow, Wexford, and Kilkenny.¹ Major Kavanagh selected the stump of the old castle of Archagh (otherwise Agha), a waste place lying in the barony of Idrone, as the post for him and his band to inhabit, as being situate in the centre of the three counties of Wexford, Carlow, and Kilkenny; and a lease was made of it by the State to Major Boulton (who seems to have been the medium of communication with Major Kavanagh), in order that he might assign it over to him for his residence and habitation.² This place lay four miles due East of Leighlin Bridge, and in some degree may have watched the approaches against the advance of any Tories from the Wicklow hills. Major Kavanagh was no Tory, but, having laid down arms, was quietly awaiting his transplantation.

But others, wilder and more desperate, "ran out:" amongst these was Gerald Kinsellagh, who appears in the survey of 1653 as forfeiting a large estate of 1420 acres, consisting of the lands of Kynogh, Kiledmond, Kilcoursey, and other lands in the county of Carlow. He became "a leading Tory," and with him the Government entered into terms for pursuing and destroying his fellow-Tories. The same Lieutenant Francis Rowlestone who was paid for the heads of two Tories killed by him, and who probably, in his frequent conflicts with them, had earned their respect and confidence (for the brave respect the brave), had a warrant from the State in 1659 to treat with this Gerald (or Garrett) Kinsellagh and two other Tories of the neighbourhood, "then abroad and on

¹ $\frac{A}{12}$, p. 54.

² $\frac{A}{12}$, p. 55.

their keeping," and to promise them their security and liberty on condition of their hunting down other Tories who were abroad disturbing the public peace.¹

But national hatred, as has been remarked, is the firmest bond of association and secrecy.² The Irish, who had seen their country desolated, and their ancient gentry driven off to Connaught to make way for strangers of a new creed and new manners, would give no assistance to the law. They declined to aid a system contrived for the degradation of their race, and the benefit of their oppressors. They thought it not an honour, but rather a disgrace, in such circumstances, to be a law-abiding people.

The farmers found their condition improved under the Cromwellians, but that did not reconcile them to the slavery of their country. They could almost command their own terms; for there were more landlords looking for tenants, than farmers looking for farms. Accordingly, they were for this cause never more wanton and insolent (says Lynch) than in 1655.³ Moreover, the Cromwellians were able to give their land cheap, for it had cost them nothing. Just as Little John, in measuring out the livery ordered by Robin Hood to the poor knight, could give him three folds over at the end of every bow's length that he used instead of a yard :

¹ *A*, p. 57.

² "The conspiracy [of the Greeks against the Latins, then in possession of Constantinople, A. D. 1205] was propagated by national hatred, the firmest bond of association and secrecy." Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. x., ch. 61.

³ "Alithonologia, sive Veridica Responsio, &c." "The Truth Told; or a true Answer to the invective, full of falsehoods, fallacies, and calumnies, against many of the Priests, Nobles, and Irish of every rank, delivered by R[ichard] F[arrell], C[apuchin], to the Propaganda, A. D. 1659," vol. i., p. 136. By Eudoxus Alithinologus [The Rev. John Lynch], St. Malo's. 4to. 2 vols. 1664 and 1667.

"Scathelock stooode full styl and lough,
And sayd, By God Almyght,
Johan may gyve hym the better mesurē :
By God, it cost hym but lyght."¹

Those that would not themselves deal a blow against the new proprietors and their tenants, yet saw them with silent satisfaction terrified and bewildered at the sudden and secret attacks upon their neighbours. They gave private intelligence to the Tories to aid them to escape, or were simply passive; and no penalties could force them to betray those whom they looked on as avengers of the wrongs of gentry and people alike.

The Cromwellian settlers lived in constant danger. So sudden and so frequent were the murders of the new planters, that it was stated that no person was able to assure himself of one night's safety, except such as lived in strong castles, and these well guarded, and they (adds the reporter) very liable to surprise too. And after referring to the instances of the several horrid murders lately committed in the counties of Wexford, Kildare, and Carlow, and elsewhere, he continues,—“Of which number one gentleman living in a strong castle, and sitting by the fire with his wife and family in the evening, heard some persons, whose voice he knew, call him by name to come to his gate to speak with him; the poor gentleman, supposing no danger in a country where no enemy was heard of, presently went to the door, and was there murthered, where he was taken up dead off the place. Another of them, walking in his grounds in the day time, about his business, was there found murthered, and to this day it could never be learned who committed either of them. And when these horrid murthers are done, the poor English that doe escape know not

¹ “A Lyttell Geste of Robyn Hode.” 4to. Black Letter, by Wynken de Worde. Part 1.

what means to use. As for his Irish neighbours, it's like he may not have one near him that can speak English ; and if he have an hue and cry (or hullaloo as they call it) to be set up, they will be sure to send it the wrong way, or at least deferr it until the offender be far enough out of reach ; and not unlike but the persons that seem busiest in the pursuit may be them that did the mischief."¹

But a more effective way of suppressing Tories seems to have been to induce them, as already mentioned, to betray or murder one another,—a measure continued after the Restoration, during the absence of Parliaments, by Acts and Orders of State, and re-enacted by the first Parliament summoned after the Revolution, when in that and the following reigns almost every provision of the rule of the Parliament of England in Ireland was re-enacted by the Parliaments of Ireland, composed of the Soldiers and Adventurers of Cromwell's day, or new English and Scotch capitalists. In 1695 any Tory killing two other Tories proclaimed and on their keeping was entitled to pardon.² Such distrust and alarm now ensued among their bands on finding one of their number so killed, that it became difficult to kill a second. Therefore, in 1718, it was declared sufficient qualification for pardon for a Tory to kill one of his fellow-Tories.³ This law was continued in 1755 for twenty-one years, and only expired in 1776. Tory hunting and Tory murdering thus became common pursuits. No wonder, therefore, after so lengthened an existence, to find traces of the Tories in our household words. Few, however, are now aware that the well-known Irish nursery rhymes have so truly historical a foundation :—

¹ "England's Great Interest in the Well Planting of Ireland with English People," p. 7. By Colonel Richard Lawrence. 4to. Dublin : 1656.

² 7 Will. 3 (Irish), c. 21.

³ 9 Will. 3 (Irish), c. 9.

"Ho! brother Teig, what is your story?"
 "I went to the wood, and shot a Tory :"
 "I went to the wood, and shot another ;"
 "Was it the same, or was it his brother ?"

 "I hunted him in, I hunted him out,
 Three times through the bog, and about and about ;
 Till out of a buah I spied his head,
 So I levelled my gun, and shot him dead."¹

At the Restoration, some of the gentry of old English descent, who had good interest at court, got back their estates. Others, of equal loyalty, obtained decrees of the Court of Claims to be restored to their ancient inheritances; but as the adventurers and soldiers in possession were not to be removed without being first reprimed—that is, provided with other lands of equal value (which were not to be had)—the dispossessed owners, especially the ancient Irish, were never restored, but wandered many of them about their ancient inheritances, living upon the bounty of their former tenants, or joined some band of Tories.² The poor Irish peasantry, with a generosity

¹ Crofton Croker's "Sketches in the South of Ireland," p. 54. 4to. London : 1824.

² In a manuscript account of the state of the county of Kildare, A. D. 1684, is the following :—"In the open or plain countreys the peasants are content to live on their labour; the woods, boggs, and fastnesses fostering and sheltering the robbers, Tories, and woodkernes, who are usually the offspring of gentlemen that have either misspent or forfeited their estates, who, though having no subsistence, yet contemn trade as being too mean and base for a gentleman reduced never so low, being *nusseled* up by their priests and followers in an opinion that they may yet recover their lands to live on in their predecessors' splendour : yet the robberies, and burglaries, and other crimes usually committed in this kingdom, are not so numerous, but there are commonly sentenced to die in a monthly sessions att the Old Bailey more than in half a year's circuit in Ireland." Folio volume, endorsed "Detached Papers relating to the Natural History of Ireland." Press I., tab. i., vol. ii., p. 296, MSS. Trin. Coll. Dublin.

characteristic of their race and country, never refused them hospitality, but maintained them as gentlemen, allowing them to cosher upon them, as the Irish called the giving their lord a certain number of days' board and lodging. Archbishop King complains of the numbers thus supported, or by stealing and Torying. These pretended gentlemen, together with the numerous coshering Popish clergy that lived much after the same manner, were the two greatest grievances of the kingdom in this Archbishop's view, and more especially hindered its settlement and happiness.¹ The Archbishop and the possessors of the lands of these gentlemen complained much of their pride and idleness in not becoming their labourers. But the sense of injustice, and their use of arms, were against it. Their sons or nephews, brought up in poverty, and matched with peasant girls, will become the tenants of the English officers and soldiers; and, thence reduced to labourers, will be found the turf-cutters and potato-diggers of the next generation—yet keeping, even in the low social rank they have fallen to, their ancient spirit and courage, and their intolerance of injury and insult. These dispossessed proprietors were the pretended Irish gentlemen that would not work, but wandered about demanding victuals, and coshering from house to house among their fosterers, followers, and others, described in the Act of 1707 “for the more effectual Suppressing of Tories,” and were (on presentment of any grand jury of the counties they frequented) to be seized and sent on board the Queen's fleet, or to some of the plantations in America.² The grandfathers of men now alive have seen the heir or representative of the old forfeiting proprietor of 1688 wan-

¹ King's “State of the Protestants of Ireland under the Government of King James the Second,” p. 87. 8vo. Dublin: 1730. See also “A Tour through Ireland,” p. 147. Dublin: 1748.

² 6 Ann (Irish), c. 2.

dering about with his ancient title-deeds tied up in an old handkerchief—these and the respect paid him by the peasantry being the only signs left to show the world he was a gentleman.

The Tories, however, notwithstanding all these provisions and precautions, continued to infest the new Scotch and English settlers during the whole of the Commonwealth period ; they survived the Restoration ; they received new accessions by the war of the Revolution and the forfeitures of 1688 ; and they can be traced through the Statute Book to the reign of George III., during the whole of which period there were rewards set upon their heads ; and all their murders, maimings, and dismemberments, their robberies and spoils, were satisfied by levies on the ancient native inhabitants of the different districts.

After the Restoration, Colonel Poer in Munster, Colonel Coughlan in Leinster, and Colonel Dudley (or Dualtagh) Costello in Connaught, dispossessed of their hereditary properties, headed bands that gave infinite trouble. Redmond O'Hanlon, a dispossessed proprietor of Ulster, during the whole of the Duke of Ormond's and the Earl of Essex's Lord Lieutenancies, kept the counties of Tyrone and Armagh in terror, the farmers paying him regular contribution to be protected from pillage by other Tories. His history is characteristic of Ireland. The O'Hanlons and Magennises were the only friends of Queen Elizabeth in Ulster.¹ O'Hanlon was the chief of Orier, in the county of Armagh, and claimed to be hereditary royal standard-bearer north of the Boyne. In 1595, in the war against Hugh O'Neil, in the march of the Deputy Sir W. Russel from Dundalk, the royal standard was

¹ " Brief Declaration of the Government of Ireland, discovering the Discontents of the Irishry." By Captain Thomas Lee, A. D. 1594. " Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica," vol. i., p. 140.

borne the first day by O'Mulloy, and the next by O'Hanlon.¹ On the 17th November, 1600, he was slain at the pass of Carlingford, fighting on the English side, under the orders of Lord Mountjoy. For his loyalty and his services in this war against the Earl of Tyrone, King James I. bestowed upon his family seven townlands. These were, of course, taken from them by the orders of the English Parliament in 1653 ; and they were transplanted to Connaught, where the mother received some pittance of land for her support. At the Restoration Hugh O'Hanlon petitioned to have their lands restored,² but in vain. Redmond O'Hanlon, who was probably a brother of Hugh's, took to the hills. He principally haunted the Fews Mountains, near Dundalk. He thought more than once of withdrawing to France, where he was known to fame as Count O'Hanlon, but was still kept back by rumours of a war, and hopes of a French invasion.³ Various attempts were made to surprise him, and large bribes offered for his capture. But all was of no avail. At last, the Duke of Ormond drawing secret instructions for two gentlemen with his own hand (else this outlaw would be sure to get intelligence of the plan formed against him), he was shot through the heart, while he lay asleep, on the 25th of April, 1681.⁴

¹ Sir Richard Cox's "Hibernia Anglicana," p. 407.

² Petition of Hugh O'Hanlon, A. D. 1663, claiming as an "innocent Papist," MS., folio (series of twelve volumes relating to Acts of Settlement and Explanation), vol. ii., B., p. 335. Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

³ "Present State of Ireland, but more particularly of Ulster," by Edmund Murphy, Secular Priest, and titular Chanter of Armagh, and one of the first discoverers of the Irish Plot. Folio. London : 1681.

⁴ Daniel O'Keeffe, a similar outlaw in the county of Cork, was betrayed by Mary O'Kelly, his mistress, whose treachery, however, O'Keeffe avenged by plunging his dagger into her heart before taking to flight, as in the following lines :—

"No more shall mine ear drink
Thy melody swelling ;

Art O'Hanlon, a fosterer of Redmond's, was employed to kill him. He and one O'Sheel met Redmond, by appointment, in the hills near Eight-mile-bridge, in the county of Down, where Redmond intended to make prey of some traders coming from a fair. As Redmond was at this time "proclaimed," with an hundred pounds on his head, he had O'Sheel placed as a "centinel perdu" to watch the approach of any enemies, and meanwhile rested himself in a solitary cabin guarded by Art O'Hanlon. About two o'clock in the afternoon, as he lay asleep, expecting no treachery at the hands of his comrade and fosterer, Art fired the contents of his blunderbuss into Redmond's breast, and then ran off to Eight-mile-bridge to get help to secure the body. O'Sheel, however, who was not party to the treachery, hearing the shot, ran to the cabin, and found Redmond still alive, who besought him to cut off his head at once with his "*skeane*," and not leave it to become the scoff of his enemies ; but to carry it off and hide in some

" Or thy beaming eye brighten
 The outlaw's dark dwelling ;
 Or thy soft heaving bosom
 My destiny hallow,
 When thy arms twine around me,
 Young Mauriade ny Kallagh.

" The moss couch I brought thee
 To-day from the mountain
 Has drunk the last drop
 Of thy young heart's red fountain :
 For this good *skeane* beside me
 Struck deep, and rung hollow
 In thy bosom of treason,
 Young Mauriade ny Kallagh."

" Dublin Penny Journal," vol. iv., No. 165 (August 29, 1835), p. 71.

Mauriade ny Kallagh is the Irish for Mary O'Kelly. "O" is "son of." Women used the prefix "ny," instead—as "Honora ny Brien," "Katherine ny Donohue," "Sarah ny Donnel."

bog hole. O'Sheel, however, allowed him to die (he had not long to wait), and then ran off with it, so that when the guard arrived with Art, they found only the headless trunk. This they carried into Newry, and there it was publicly exposed for a couple of days under a guard of soldiers.¹ The head was afterwards recovered from O'Sheel, and placed over the gate of the gaol of Downpatrick. The following was his mother's "keene :—"—

" Dear head of my darling, how gory and pale
 These aged eyes see thee high spiked on their jail ;
 That cheek in the summer time ne'er shall grow warm,
 Nor that eye e'er catch light but the flash of the storm."

" Thus fell this Irish Scanderbeg," says Sir Francis Brewster, who had the relation of his death from the mouth of one of the gentlemen employed by the Duke, " who did things, considering his means, more to be admired than Scanderbeg himself."²

After the war of 1688, the Tories received fresh accessions; and, a great part of the kingdom being left waste and desolate, they betook themselves to these wilds, and greatly discouraged the replanting of the kingdom by their frequent murders of the new Scotch and English Planters; the Irish "choosing rather" (so runs the language of the Act) "to suffer strangers to be robbed and despoiled, than to apprehend or convict the offenders." In order, therefore, for the better encouragement of strangers to plant and inhabit the kingdom, any persons presented as Tories by the gentlemen of a county, and proclaimed as such by the Lord Lieutenant, might be shot as

¹ From a very rare pamphlet, entitled, "Redmond O'Hanlyn, or the Life and Death of the Incomparable and Indefatigable Tory, Redmond O'Hanlyn, commonly called Count Hanlyn, in a Letter to Mr. R. A., in Dublin." [Dated 1 August, 1681.] 4to. Printed for John Foster, Skinner-row. Dublin: 1682.

² Carte's "Life of James Duke of Ormond," vol. ii., p. 512.

outlaws and traitors ; and any persons harbouring them were to be guilty of high treason.¹ Rewards were offered for the taking or killing of them ; and the inhabitants of the barony, of the ancient native race, were to make satisfaction for all robberies and spoils.² If persons were maimed or dismembered by Tories, they were to be compensated by ten pounds ; and the families of persons murdered were to receive thirty pounds.³

As their leaders of gentle birth or blood died off, or were killed, they were not replaced ; but the ranks of these outlaws were still recruited from the lower and the poorer class.

In this state they presented, at the end of thirty years, to the historian of the war of the Revolution,⁴ under the name of Rapparees, an aspect so fierce, so wan, and wild, that his commentator is appalled at the spectacle. He starts at the "hideous ferocity" of these Irish, "remaining untameable after so many ages, since British civilization was first planted in Ireland ; exhibiting man, like the solitary hyena, that could neither be domesticated nor extirpated, prowling about the grave of society rather than its habitation"—Ireland thereby realizing the fate foretold for another nation—"I will bring your sanctuaries and your land into desolation and your enemies who dwell therein shall be astonished at it."⁵

Like the same nation, too, the Irish of the seventeenth century were "scattered among all people, from one end of the

¹ 9 Will. 3 (Irish), A. D. 1698, c. 9.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ "History of the late War" (1690-92), by Rev. W. Story. 4to. London.

⁵ "Res Gestae Anglorum in Hibernia ab anno 1150 usque ad 1800 ; or, a Supplement to the History of England," prefixed to "the Liber Munerum Publicorum ; or, the Establishments of Ireland during 675 years ;" being the Report of Rowley Lascelles, of the Middle Temple, vol. i., p. 93. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1814.

* Leviticus, xxvi, 31, 32.

earth unto the other," carrying with them into foreign lands their enduring hostility. They entered the armies of the enemies of England, and (like the last of those accomplished gentlemen, the Moors of Spain, who, driven from their native Andalusia in 1610, became the first of those pirates called Sallee Rovers, in hatred of the injustice of the Christians),¹ they manned French privateers, robbing and insulting the coasts of the land which had cast them out.²

¹ "Mahomedan Dynasties of Spain," by an African author of the year 1620, vol. ii., p. 392. 4to. Printed for the Oriental Society.

² 9 Will. 3 (Irish), A. D. 1698, c. 9, s. 5.

A P P E N D I X.

A P P E N D I X.

I.

PETITION OF MAURICE VISCOUNT ROCHE, OF FERMOY.

(Page 182, *supra*.)

*To the Right Hon. the Lords Justices of Ireland, the humble Petition
of MAURICE LORD VISCOUNT ROCHE, of Fermoy,¹*

MOST HUMBLY SHEWETH,—That your Petitioner hath been seaven yeares agoe dispossessed of his wholl estate, havinge the chardge of Foure young daughters, unpreferred, to whose misery was added the losse of their mother, your Petitioner's wife, by an unjust illegal proceeding, as is knowne and may be attested by the best Protestant Nobility and Gentry of the Countie of Cork, who have heard and seen it, and whose charitable compassion it moved; That your said Petitioner and his said children ever since have lived in a most disconsolate condition, destituted of all kind of subsistence (except what Almes some good Christians did in charity afford them), by occasion whereof one of your Petitioner's daughters, falling sick about three years ago, died, for want of requisite accommodacon, either for her cure or diett; That your Petitioner hath often supplicated those in authority in the late Government for releefe, who after ten months attendance in Dublin gave him no other succor but an order to the Commissioners in Connaught to sett outt some lands for him, *De bene esse*, there or in the county of Clare; That your Peti-

¹ Order Book of the Commissioners for executing the King's Declaration, late Auditor-General's Office, Custom House Buildings, vol. xvii., p. 112.

tioner being necessitated to goe from Dublin afoote to attende on them in Athlone and Loughreagh for six moneths more (in which prosecution and attendance he ran himself £100 in debt), yet at last had but 2500 acres, part in the Owles, in Connaught, and part in the remotest parts of Thomond, all wast and unprofitable, at that time, assigned him, both which, before and after, were by the sayd Commissioners disposed of by Finall settlements to others, who evicted your Petitioner thereout before he could receive any maner of profit, soe as that colour of succor and reliefe proved rather an increase and addition of misery to your said Petitioner, who is now in that very low condition that he cannot in person attend on your Lordships, much less make a journey to his sacred Majesty to sett forth his sufferings and to implore releefe :

The premises tenderly considered, and for that it hath beene unheard of in all former ages that a Peere of the Realm of English extraction, though never so criminous, should be reduced to such extremitie of misery, his cause not heard, and without conviction or attainder by his Peeres or otherwise, contrary to the known lawes of the land, and the rights and privileges of the Nobilitie and Peerage; and for that your Petitioner is in that forlorne condition that he cannot any longer hould out unless speedily releaved, your Lordships may be pleased to afford your said Petitioner some present succour and relieve, and to enable him to discharge the said £100 debt.

And hee will pray, &c.

18th day of March, 1660-1.

II.

TRANSPLANTERS' CERTIFICATES.

By the Commissioners within the Precincts of Clonmell.

JOHN HORE of Ballymacmaag, and MATHEW HORE, of Shandon, near Dungarvan, County of Waterford.

WE, the said Commissioners, do hereby certifie that John Hore, of Ballymacmaag, and Mathew Hore, of Shandon, in the county of Waterford, hath, upon the 23rd day of January, 1653, in pursuance of a Declaration of the Commissioners of the Parliament of England for the Affairs of Ireland, bearing date the 14th day of October, 1653, delivered unto us in writing a particular, containing therein the names of himself and such other persons as are to remove with him, with the quantities and qualities of their respective stocks and tillage, the contents whereof are as followeth:—
viz.—1. John Hore, of Ballymacmaag, adged seventy; grey haired, tall stature; freeholder; ten cows, five garrans. 2. Edmund Hore, son to the said John, adged ten years, brown haire. 3. Owen Crumpon, of the same, adged thirty; black; middle stature; servant. 4. James Daton, of the same, adged sixteen; flaxen haire; servant. 5. Morish Caffon, of Ballidonnack, adged thirty-four brown; low, servant. 6. Mathew Hore, of Shandon, adged thirty-one; browne; middle; freeholder; eight cows, two hundred sheepe, seventy-nine garrans, five cows; forty-two acres of wheate and beare, seven of pease. 7. Mary Hore, wife of the said Mathew, adged twenty-five; white, tall. 8. Mary Hore, daughter of the said Mathew, adged nine; flaxen; three cows, two heifers. 9. Margaret Hore, daughter to the said Mathew, foure; flaxen; low; three cows, two bullocks. 10. Bridget Hore, daughter to the said Mathew, adged two; white;

two cows, and two bullocks. 11. John Hore, son to the said Mathew, adged seaven; white; lowe; three cows, and two yearlings. 12. Patrick Hore, son to the said Mathew, adged five; white; lowe; five cows, and one yearling. 13. Martin Here, adged three; flaxen; ten cows, and one yearling, and thirty-six sheepe. 14. Murtagh Morrochoe, of Grage, aged thirty-seaven; browne; middle; tenant; two cows, and one yearling, fifteene sheepe, one garran. 15. Nicholas Power, of Shandon, sixtie; graye; middle; servant. 16. Edmund Kelly, of the same, thirty; black; middle; servant. 18. Thomas Kelly, of the same, thirty-nine; black; lowe; servant. 19. Thomas Fitzgerald, of the same, nineteen; white; tall; servant. 20. William Roch, of the same, servant. 21. Henry Tobin, of the same, thirtie; browne; low; servant. 22. Thomas Donnell, of the same, fortie-four; browne; lowe; servant. 23. Moris Offelahan, of the same, fiftie; graye; middle; servant. 25. John O'Morrissee, of the same, seventeen; brown; low; servant. 26. Morish O'Morrissee, of the same, fifteen; dark; low; servant. 27. William O'Tuscan, of Ikart, thirtie; dark; middle; servant; two cows, ten sheepe, one garran; five acres of wheate, [] beare. 28. Nicholas White, of the same, sixteene; white; low; servant. 29. James Murphy, of the same; thirtie-four; brown; low; tenant; seaven sheepe, one garran. 30. Michael Conry, of Ballinacourty, thirtie-seaven; middle; tenant; three cows, sixteen sheepe, nine garrans; six acres of wheate, and two of pease and beans. 31. John O'Kelly of the same, twentie; white; low; servant. 32. Richard [], of Ballyduff, thirtie-nine; black; middle; tenant; one cow, seven sheepe, three garrans; two acres of wheate and beare, and two of pease and beans. 33. Morish Ffallon, of Killdagan, fortie; graye; low; tenant; four cows, fifteene sheepe, eleven garrans, seaven acres of wheate and beare. 34. Patrick Ffallon, of the same, twentie; brown; middle; tenant. 35. Walter Power, of Ballinrode, twentie-five; brown; tall; tenant; five cows, fortie-three sheepe, eight garrans; ten acres of wheate and beare. 36. Darby Ffollowe, of Ballyhannick, fortie-four; black; tall; tenant; two cows, four sheepe, six garrans; five acres of wheate and beare. 37. Darby

Powys, of the same, thirtie-two; brown; tall; tenant; one cow, eleven sheepe, ten garrans; two acres of wheate and beare. 38. Mary Russell, the relict of Patrick Russell, of Dungarvan, burgess. fiftie-three; yellow; middle; three cows, fiftie sheepe, one garran. 39. John Fitzgerald, of the same, fortie; black; low; tenant; three cows, ten sheepe, one garran; one acre of wheate and beare. 40. Morish Roch, of the same, twenty-five; brown; middle; tenant; two cows, ten sheepe, two garrans; two acres of wheate, beare, and beans. 41. Morish Fitzgerald, of Grenane, twenty-five; white; middle; servant. 42. Patrick Ffollowe, of Ballyhormock, thirteen; brown; servant. 43. William Wray, of the same, fourteen; brown; servant. 44. Morish Cowden, of Inchindrislye, thirtie-six; black; middle; tenant; one cow, ten sheepe, two garrans; one acre of wheate and beare. 45. Robert Pirquett, of the same, fiftie; brown; low; tenant; one cow, one garran, one acre of wheate and beare. 46. John Pirquett, of the same, twentie; browne; low; servant. 48. John Nagle, of Donnemainstragh, thirty-two; brown; tall; freeholder; two cows, ten sheepe, three garrans; three acres of wheat and beare, and one of pease. 49. James How fitz Thomas of Dungarvan, ten; blacke; low; burgess. 50. John Lea, of Dungarvan, sixteen; tall; white; freeholder. 51. John Coppinger the elder, of the same, fiftie-five; graye; tall; freeholder. 52. Philip Power, of Ballinrode, thirtie-five; brown; low; tenant; one cow, ten sheepe, two garrans; two acres of wheate and beare. 53. John O'Morrissee, of Ballinkelly, twenty-six; brown; middle; tenant; eight cows, twentie sheepe, ten garrans; five acres of wheat, two of pease. 54. Margaret, his wife, twenty-four; white; middle. 55. Philip Flyn, of the same, fifteen; brown; servant. 56. Donagh Corbane of the same, thirtie; blacke; low; servant. 57. Thomas Power, of Kildagan, adged twenty-seven; blacke; low; three cows, twelve sheepe, three garrans; two acres of wheate and beare. 58. Connor Gambon, of Inchindrisley, thirtie-two; brown; middle; tenant; three cows, twelve sheepe, three garrans; ten acres of wheate and beare. 59. John McPhilip, of Kildagan, thirtie; browne; middle; tenant. 60. William Morrissee, of Inchindrisley,

eighteen; white; middle; servant. 61. David McDonagh, of Knock-an-power, sixtie-three; graye; middle; freeholder; ten cows, twenty-seaven sheepe, fifteen garrans; thirteen acres of wheate and beare. 62. Giles Mulcahy, fifty-three; brown; low. 63. Margaret Mulcahy, his daughter, eighteen; brown; middle; spinster. 64. Ellen Mulcahy, his daughter, seventeen; brown; middle; spinster. 65. Ellinor Mulcahy, his daughter, ten; brown; spinster. 66. Thomas Shane, of the same, eighteen; brown; middle; servant. 67. John Offernan, of the same, sixteen; brown; servant. 68. Daniell Henery, of the same, thirtie; browne; middle; servant. 69. Richard Breenagh, of the same, twelve; brown; servant. 70. Thomas fitz John, of Ballinlea, forty-three; brown; tall; tenant; three cows, twenty sheepe, eight garrans; eight acres of wheate and beare. 71. James Forde, of Ballyduffmore, fifty-three; brown; low; mortgagee; two cows, two garrans; two acres of wheate and beare. 72. John O'Kelly, of Knock-an-power, thirty; black; middle; tenant; two cows; two acres of wheate and beare. 73. James Ronayne, of the same, sixty; graye, middle; tenant; one cow. 74. Morish Ronayne, of the same, twenty; brown; middle. 75. John O'Glassine, of the same, twenty; black; middle; tenant; two cows, one garran. 76. Donagh Mulcahy, of the same, twenty-four; black; servant. 77. Connor O'Keirnane, of the same, thirty-five; black; middle; servant. 78. Dermod O'Keirnane, of the same, twenty; black; middle; servant. 79. Ellen Prendergast, of the same, thirty-five; brown; tall; widdowe; two cows, two garrans. 80. Onora Flanagan, of the same; forty; black; middle; widdowe; three cows, twelve sheepe, three garrans; two acres of wheate and beare. 81. Thomas Kernane, of the same, twenty; black; servant; 82. Thomas Prendergast, of the same; twelve; white; servant. 83. Donagh O'Hutterie, of Ballymartie, thirtie; black; middle; tenant; four cows, ten sheepe, three garrans; four acres of wheate and beare. 84. Morish Mulrery, of the same, twenty; dark; middle; servant. 85. Derby O'Brien, of Inchindrisly, thirty; brown; low; four cows, thirty sheepe, seaven garrans; seaven acres of wheat and beare. 86. William Brennagh, of the same, twenty; white; low; servant.

87. John Kennedy, twenty; brown; servant. 88. William Kenny, of Kilknockane, fifty-four, graye; low; burgess; six cows, twenty sheepe, nine garrans; fifteen acres of wheate, beare, and pease. 89. Anne Kenny, wife of the said William, sixtie; brown; low. 91. James Meregagh, of the same, thirtie; black; middle; servant. 92. Donagh O'Brien, of the same, thirty; dark; low; tenant; three cows, five garrans; twelve acres of wheate and beare. 94. Richard Butler, of Garrinlowe, thirty; flaxen; tall; tenant; six cows, twenty sheepe; twelve garrans; three acres of wheate and beare. 95. Giles Butler, his wife, twenty-four; brown; low. 96. Meaghlin Hogan, of the same, twenty; dark; middle; servant. 97. Morish Dower, of the same, twenty; yellow; middle; servant. 98. Daniel O'Phelane, of the same, eighteen; black; low; servant. 99. Donogh O'Kerwick, of the same, sixteene; dark; low; servant. 100. Ellen Magner, of Donnemainstragh, fifty-seaven; black; middle; three cows, twenty-six sheepe, two garrans; four acres of wheate, beare, and pease. 101. Thomas Butler, of Knockneagcarah, twenty-eight; yellow; middle; tenant; thirty-one cows, one hundred sheepe, twenty-four garrans, six oxen; twenty-eight acres of wheate and beare, and four of pease. 102. Katherine, his wife, twenty-five; black; tall. 103. Piers Butler, of the same, fiftie; graye; middle; servant. 104. Edmund Butler, of the same, eighteen; black; low; servant. 105. Walter Fanning, of the same, twenty-three; black; low; servant. 106. Daniel Mourye, of the same, fifteen; yellow; low; servant. 107. William Hodnett, of Grange, thirty-two; black; middle; tenant; three cows, five sheepe, three garrans; seventeene acres of wheate and beare. 108. James Power, of Inchindrisly, twenty-three; dark; middle; tenant; three cows, five sheepe, three garrans; seventeene acres of wheate and beare. 109. Thomas Gough, of Dungarvan, forty; black; tall; burgess; one cow, ten sheepe, two garrans. 110. James Fitzmorresh-Gerald, of Crushes, forty; flaxen brown; middle; tenant; five cows, twenty-five sheepe, eight garrans; ten acres of wheate and beare. 111. John Coppinger, of Dungarvan, the younger, thirty-seaven; brown; middle; burgess. 112. Michael Hore, of the same, thirty; black; low; burgess. 113.

John McCreaugh, of Inchindrisly, twenty; brown; middle; servant.
 114. John Butler, son to Thomas Butler, of Knockneagcarah, above-mentioned; flaxen. 115. Margaret Hodnett, wife to William Hodnett, above-mentioned, thirty; flaxen; tall. 116. Garrett Hodnett, his son, four; flaxen. 117. Teige O'Moane, thirty-six; black; middle; servant. 117. Bryan Moane, his son, four; browne. 117. Murtagh O'Boghan, forty-three; black; tall; servant. 118. John O'Boghan, fourteen; flaxen; servant. 118. Connor Carty, twenty; black; low; servant. 119. Morish []; black; low; servant. 120. Walter Grange, twenty; black; tall. 121. William Brennagh, thirty-five; red; servant; middle. 122. Connor O'Farrelly, forty; brown; middle; servant. 123. Morish fitz John, twenty-five; brown; servant. 124. John Power, fifteen; brown; servant. 125. Murtagh Kenagh, forty; brown; middle; servant. 129. Thomas Gorman, thirtie; black; middle; servant. 130. David Roch, of Dungarvan, twenty-two; brown; low; servant. 131. Thomas Wyse, of Ballinavarie, forty; brown; middle; freeholder.

The substance whereof we believe to be true. In witness whereof, we have hereunto sett our hands and seals, the 26th day of January, 1653-4.

CHARLES BLOUNT, SOLOMON RICHARDS, HENRY PARIS.¹

City of Limerick.—By the Commissioners of the Revenue within the Precinct of Limerick.

JAMES BONFIELD, *of the City of Limerick.*

We, the said Commissioners, do hereby certify that James Bonfield, of the city of Limerick, burgess, hath upon the 20th day of December, 1653, in pursuance of a Declaration of the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the Affairs of Ireland, bearing date the 14th day of October, 1653, delivered unto us in writing the names of himself and of such other

¹ Book of Transplanters' Certificates, Records of the late Auditor-General, Custom House Buidings.

persons as are to remove with him, with the quantities and qualities of their stocks and tillage, the contents whereof are as followeth : viz.—The said James Bonfield, of the city aforesaid, aged thirty-eight years ; tall stature; browne flaxen hair. Catherine Bonfield his wife, aged thirty-eight years; red haire. John Hynane, aged twenty years; middle stature; black haire. Gabriel Creagh, Gennett Creagh, Anthony Creagh, and James Creagh, small children, under the age of eight years. Bridget Bonfield, daughter to the said James, aged eight years; brown haired. Ellen ny Cahill, maid servant, aged forty years; middle stature; brown haire. Mary ny Liddy, aged forty years; black haire; middle stature. His substance—foure cows, foure garrans; and desires the benefit of his claim. The substance whereof we believe to be true. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals the 20th day of December, 1653.¹

City of Limerick.

MARGARET HEALLY, alias CREAGH, relict of JOHN HEALLY, Esq., deceased.

We, the said Commissioners, doe hereby certify that Margaret Heally, alias Creagh, the relict of John Heally, Esq., deceased, of the county of Limerick, hath upon the 19th day of December, 1653, in pursuance of a Declaration of the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the Affairs of Ireland, bearing date the 14th day of October, 1653, delivered unto us in writing the names of herself and of such other persons as are to remove with her, with the quantities and qualities of their stocks and tillage, the contents whereof are as followeth : viz.—The said Margaret, adged thirty years; flaxen hair; full face; middle size. Her substance, two cows, three ploughs of garrans, and two acres of barley and wheate sown. John Neal, her servant, adged twenty-eight years; red haire; middle stature; full face. Gennet Comyn, one of her servants, adged twenty-four years; brown haire; slender

¹ Book of Transplanters' Certificates, Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

face; of middle stature. Joan Keane, servant, adged thirtie-six years; brown haire; middle seize; full face; and her little daughter, adged six yeares. Out of the above substance she payeth contribution. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, the 19th day of December, 1653.¹

Connollagh Barony, County of Limerick.

JOHN FITZGERALD, of Finntanstown, Esq.

We, the said Commissioners, do hereby certify, that John Fitzgerald of Finntanstown, in the county and barony aforesaid, hath upon the 10th day of January, 1653, in pursuance of a Declaration of the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the Affairs of Ireland, bearing date the 14th day of October, 1653, delivered unto us in writing the names of himself, and of such other persons as are to remove with him, with the quantities and qualities of their stocks and tillage, the contents whereof are as followeth: viz.—The said John Fitzgerald, adged thirtie-five years; middle stature; black hair. Sarah, his wife, aged twenty-six years; brown hair; tall stature. David Fitzgerald, aged four years; black hair. His two daughters, called Joan and Mary, under the age of two years; flaxen hair. Edmund Fitzgerald, tenant, aged thirty years; tall stature; flaxen hair. Ellen, his wife, aged forty years; tall stature; brown hair. Elleanor, Margaret, and Eliza, three daughters of the said Edmund, all under the age of four years. David Wolfe, gentleman, aged twenty-four years; black hair; middle stature. Mauria Manning, aged twenty-six years; middle stature; black hair. Dermot Halpin, aged twenty-four years; tall stature; flaxen hair. Donough M'Carty, aged thirty-six years; middle stature; black hair. Ann ny McNamara, servant, aged forty years; black hair; tall stature. His substance—twenty-four garrans, three cows, two sows; four acres of winter corn. The substance whereof we believe to be true. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, the 10th day of January, 1653.²

¹ Book of Transplanters' Certificates, Record Tower, Dublin Castle, p. 8.

² Ibid.

Barony of Small County, County of Limerick.

SIR DAVID BOURKE, of Kilpeacon.

Wee, the said Commissioners, do hereby Certify that Sir David Bourke, of Kilpecon, in the barony of Small County, and county of Limerick, hath, upon the 19th day of November, 1653, in pursuance of a Declaration of the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the Affairs of Ireland, bearing date the 14th day of October, 1653, delivered unto us in writing the names of himself and such other persons as are to remove with him, with the quantities and qualities of their stock and tillage, the contents whereof are as followeth: viz.—The said Sir David Bourke, adged 64 yeares; middle stature; brown hair. The Lady Catherine Bourke, adged fifty-eight years; white hoary hair. Oliver Bourke, son to the said Sir David, adged thirty-eight years; middle stature; full face, and black hair. Edmund Bourke, another son to the said Sir David, adged thirty-nine years; middle stature; sick of body; red hair. Patrick Bourke, son to the said Sir David, adged thirty years; tall stature; flaxen hair. David Bourke, another son to the said Sir David, adged twenty eight-years; middle stature; flaxen hair; William McShane, tenant, adged fifty-eight years; middle stature; sick of body; black hair. Dermond McDonagh, adged forty-six years; middle stature; brown hair. Any, his wife, adged forty years; tall stature; black hair. John O'Gripha, adged thirty-two years; middle stature; flaxen hair. Margaret ny Owen, maid servant, adged fifty years; heigh stature; hoarie hair. More ny Loughlen, adged thirty years; middle stature; flaxen hair. Their substance, one plough of garrans, tenn cowes, six acres of barley sowed, for which they pay contribution. The substance whereof we believe to be true.¹

¹ Book of Transplanters' Certificates, p. 200, Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

*Clanwilliam Barony, County of Limerick.***MARGARET LADY DOWAGER of Castleconnell.**

We, the said Commissioners, do hereby certify that Margaret Lady Dowager of Castle Connel, now of Mockenish, in the barony of Small County, county of Limerick, hath, upon the 19th day of December, 1653, in pursuance of a Declaration of the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the Affairs of Ireland, bearing date the 14th day of October, 1653, delivered unto us in writing the names of herself, and of such other persons as are to remove with her, with the quantities and qualities of their stocks and tillage, the contents whereof are as followeth : viz.—The said Margaret Lady Dowager of Castle Connel, adged seventy-years; middle stature; flaxen hair. Ann Burgatt, adged sixteene years; middle stature; brown hair. Margaret Deoran, adged eighteen years; middle stature; flaxen hair. Henry Bourke, adged forty years; middle stature; brown hair. Anable, his wife, adged thirty yeares middle stature; brown hair. Dermott McMahon, adged fifty years; middle stature. David O'Collane, adged twenty years; middle stature; brown hair. Teige'o Terrine, adged fifty years; middle stature; red hair. Cahill McCrowe, adged fifty years; middle stature; brown hair. Donell O'Collane, adged thirty years; middle stature; brown hair. John O'Collane, adged seventy years; middle stature; grey hair. John McDonnell, adged fifty years; middle stature. Daniel O'Farrelly, adged thirty years; middle stature; brown hair. Her substance, twenty cows, twenty sheep, ten mares and garrans, and two riding nags, four sows, six acres of winter corn, out of which she pays contribution. The substance whereof we believe to be true.¹

¹ Book of Transplanters' Certificates, p. 226, Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

*Clanwilliam Barony, County of Limerick.***MARGARET LADY DOWAGER of Castleconnell.**

We, the said Commissioners, do hereby certify that Margaret Lady Dowager of Castle Connell, hath, the 19th day of December, 1653, in pursuance of a Declaration of the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the Affairs of Ireland, bearing date the 14th day of October, 1653, delivered unto us in writing the names of herself, and such other persons as are to remove with her, with the quantities and qualities of their stocks and tillage, the contents whereof are as followeth: viz.—The said Margaret Lady Dowager of Castle Connell, her tenants and servants, are as follows: viz. Dermot McQuien, adged twenty years; middle stature; black hair. Dermot Shea, adged eighteen years; low stature; flaxen hair. Honnora ny Teige, adged sixty years; middle stature; black hair. Honnora ny Cullane, adged fifty years; middle stature. Joan Lode, adged thirty years; flaxen hair. Madlen Deorane, adged thirty years; middle stature; black hair. Mary Kearney, adged twenty years; middle stature; black hair. Mahowne Mullony, adged sixteen years; middle stature; black hair. Honnora ny Sheane, adged thirty years; middle stature; black hair. Mahoune o Terny, adged forty years; low stature; red hair. Patrick Browne, adged forty-five years; middle stature; brown hair. George Meriek, adged thirty-five years; middle stature; brown hair. John Mulrian, adged thirty years; middle stature; brown hair. Daniel McMahon, adged twenty-eight years; middle stature. Mahowne o Hea, adged forty-two years; middle stature; hoary hair. David Cussine, adged thirty years; full stature; black hair. Murtagh McTeragh, adged thirty years; full stature; black hair. Mahon o Mulloc; thirty years; full stature; black hair. The substance whereof we believe to be true.¹

¹ Book of Transplanters' Certificates, p. 227, Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

*Clanwilliam Barony, County of Limerick.***WILLIAM LORD BARON of Castle Connell.**

WE, the said Commissioners, do hereby certify that William Lord Baron of Castle Connell, in the county of Limerick, hath upon the 19th day of December, 1653, in pursuance of a Declaration of the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the Affairs of Ireland, bearing date the 14th day of October, 1653, delivered unto us in writing the names of himself and such other persons as are to remove with him, with the quantities and qualities of their stocks and tillage, the contents whereof are as followeth, viz.:—The said William Lord Baron of Castle Connell, adged twenty-six years; brown hair; middle stature. Ellen, his wife, lady of Castle Connell, adged twenty-eight years; black hair; middle stature; and five young children, under the age of ten years. Ellen Roch, adged twenty-four years; flaxen hair; middle stature. Edmund Bourke, tenant, adged twenty-five years; brown hair; middle stature. John Punchy, adged thirty years; brown hair; middle stature. William Meade, adged thirty; middle stature. Donnogh M'Theige, adged forty years; black hair; middle stature. Donnell M'Shyder, adged thirty years; middle stature. Teige M'Keogh, adged thirty years; middle stature; brown hair. Lawrence Henry, adged thirty years; middle stature; brown hair. Dermot M'Keogh, adged twenty-three years; middle stature; black hair. Joan ny Mahony, adged thirty-three years; middle stature; red hair. Catherine ny Dwer, adged twenty years; flaxen hair; middle stature. John Brown, adged twenty years; flaxen hair; middle stature. Daniel M'Melaghlin, adged forty years; black hair; middle stature. His substance, twenty winter acres of corn, cows forty, forty garrans, a plow of oxen, forty swine, great and small, four geldings, out of which he payeth contribution. The substance whereof we believe to be true.¹

¹ Book of Transplanters' Certificates, p. 248, Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

*Clanwilliam Barony, County of Limerick.***THEOBALD BURKE, Lord Baron of Brittas.**

We, the said Commissioners, do hereby certify that Theobald Bourke, Lord Baron of Brittas, in the county of Limerick, hath upon the 19th day of November, 1653, in pursuance of a Declaration of the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the Affairs of Ireland, bearing date the 14th day of October, 1653, delivered unto us in writing the names of himself and such other persons as are to remove with him, with the quantities and qualities of their stocks and tillage, the contents whereof are as followeth, viz.:—The said Theobald Lord Baron of Brittas, adged sixty-five years; red gray hair; slender face. The lady Margaret his wife, adged sixty years; gray hair; slender face. Margaret and Mary, daughters to Sir John Bourke, under the age of twelve years. Thomas Bourke, his servant, adged twenty years; slender face; yellow hair. Daniel O'Bruoder, adged forty years; gray hair; slender face; and lame of one leg. Robert Lenane, adged sixty years; gray hair; full face. Shyrilly Maly, adged eighteen years. Shirilly ny Bruoder, adged forty years; gray hair; middle stature. Catherine Grady, maid servant; adged thirty years; full face; middle stature; black hair. Any ny Mahony, adged thirty-six years; gray hair; full face; middle stature; his substance, three cows, one gelding, two garrans, and six hogs, for which he payeth contribution. The substance whereof we believe to be true.¹

*Clanwilliam Barony, County of Limerick.***SIR MORISH HURLEY, of Kildraff [Baronet].**

We do hereby certify that Sir Morish Hurley, of Kildraff, in the county and barony aforesaid, hath, upon the 19th day of December, 1653, in pursuance of a Declaration of the Commissioners of

¹ Book of Transplanters' Certificates, p. 239, Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, for the Affairs of Ireland, bearing date the 14th day of October, 1653, delivered unto us in writing the names of himself and of such other persons as are to remove with him, with the quantities and qualities of their stocks and tillage, the contents whereof are as followeth, viz.:—The said Sir Morish Hurley his tenants are as followeth, viz.: Ter-lagh M'Brien, adged thirty years; black hair; low stature. Robert Caffore, adged fifty years; black hair; tall stature. Donogh M'Shane, adged twenty-two years; brown hair; low stature. The substance whereof we believe to be true.

Coshlea Barony, County of Limerick.

DAME LETTICE HURLEY, of Cnocklingey [Knocklong].

Viz.—Dame Lettice Hurley, of Cnocklingy, the relict of Sir Thomas Hurley [Baronet], deceased, aged sixty years; brown hair; Mary Hurley, her daughter, aged twenty years; middle stature; yellow hair. Elizabeth Hurley, another daughter, aged eighteen years; tall stature, and brown hair. Thomas Tobin, servant; aged thirty years; middle stature; brown hair. Teige Hagh, servant, aged fifty years; brown hair; middle stature; and his son. James Driscol, servant, aged thirty years; brown hair; middle stature. Connor o Glissane, servant, aged forty years; tall stature; black hair. Margaret ny Quien, aged fifty years; red hair; low stature. Ellen ny Yearmody, aged twenty years; brown hair. Mary Daniel, aged forty years, and her daughter. Ellen Roch, aged thirty years; red hair. Honora ny Daniel, aged forty years; gray hair. Sara ny Kenny, aged twenty years. Substance, ten cows, sixteen gar-rans, sixty sheep, twelve swine, six acres of corn, &c.¹

¹ Book of Transplanters' Certificates, p. 237, Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

² Ibid., p. 176.

III.

PETITIONS FOR DISPENSATION FROM TRANSPLANTATION INTO CONNAUGHT.

As the documents in full often convey a better notion than any abstract, a few orders made on the petitions for Dispensation from Transplantation are here given. It would require to inspect the many volumes full of them to realize the amount and variety of misery suffered by the inhabitants of Ireland during the government of the people of England.

The Lord Baron of Brittas.

“Upon reading the petition of Theobald Lord Baron of Brittas touching his transplantation into Connaught, and the report of the Commissioners of Revenue of Dublin thereupon, whereby it appears that the petitioner hath in the year 1645 taken the oath of association with the Confederate Rebels (*alias* Catholics): It is therefore ordered that the Governor and Commissioners of Revenue of Limerick do proceed in the Petitioner’s case according to the printed instructions and declarations given for direction in this and cases of like nature.

“*Dublin, 29th May, 1654.*

“THOMAS HERBERT, Clerk of the Council.”¹

The same.

“Upon consideration had of the further petition of the Baron of Brittas, it is ordered that the petitioner be allowed what sheafe is due unto him according to the rule, and as by the Commissioners of Revenue upon the place is given to others in like cases. And the Commissioners at Loughrea are to take care that the petitioner

¹ A
85, p. 410.

be provided for in Connaught answerable to his age and other qualifications.

"Dublin, October 13th, 1654.

"THOS. HERBERT, Clerk of the Council."¹

Piers Creagh, of Limerick, Esq.

"Upon consideration had of the petition of Piers Creagh, of Limerick, desiring a dispensation from being transplanted into Connaught, and a liberty to enjoy his estate where it lies, and of the report of the Committee of Officers thereupon, whereby it appears that upon serious reflection they have had of the petitioner's harmless carriages and of his manifold affection to the present Government, which was heretofore more fully certified to the Commissioners of the Commonwealth from the officers of the army: They offer it as their opinion that the petitioner be allowed to remain in any part of the county of Limerick (except the city) till the 1st of May next. And for those lands the petitioner desired a fourth sheafe, if the said lands be in the Commonwealth's possession he be allowed the said fourth sheafe. And it was further certified by the said officers, that in regard they were persuaded that for his former known inclination to the English Government the petitioner is hated by his countrymen, and that therefore he might be permitted to reside in such secure place in the county of Clare (not being within a garrison), neare the English quarters as the petitioner should make choice of in the disposal of the State; unto which said report the Lord Deputy and Council do agree, and therefore do hereby order, that the petitioner be dispensed with from transplantation till the 1st of May next, and that he do receive the fourth sheafe of and from those lands claymed by him in his petition, if in the possession of the State; and that he likewise be permitted to make choice of a convenient place to reside in from the 1st of May forward, neare the English quarters, in the county of Clare, provided it be not in any garrison. And hereof the Commander-in-Chief of Limerick and

¹ $\frac{A}{4}$, p. 51.

the county of Clare, and Commissioners of Assessments, and all others concerned are to take notice.

"Dated at Dublin the 28th of October, 1654.

*"THOS. HERBERT, Clerk of the Council."*¹

The Lady Dowager of Louth.

"Upon considering the petition of the Lady Dowager of Louth, and consideration had thereof, and of the petitioner's great age and impotency; It is ordered, that it be referred to the Officer Commanding in Chief and Commissioners of Assessments for the precinct of Tredagh, to consider of the allegations thereof, and to dispense with the Petitioner's transplantation into Connaught till the 1st of May next. And that towards her present maintenance they do allow her two-third parts of the profits that arise to her out of the thirds of her estate till the 1st of May aforesaid. And that in case the said estate be already disposed of, they are to certify the same to the end she may be otherwise provided for during the time the petitioner is dispensed with from transplantation; and then further care shall be taken of her with others of her condition, according to such rules as shall be held forth for that purpose.

"Dublin, 25th October, 1654.

*"THOMAS HERBERT, Clerk of the Council."*²

Mrs. Elinor Butler, Widow.

"Upon consideration had of the petition of Elinor Butler, widow, and the order of the Commissioners of Revenue at Waterford touching her, and the report of Colonel Lawrence thereupon (unto whom it was referred), it being thereby set forth that the petitioner's allegations are confirmed by a certificate of a person of good credit; and it being the said Colonel Lawrence's opinion upon the whole that the petitioner's own person and her helpless children should be dispensed with as to their present transplantation, and that she be permitted to bring back her cattle from Connaught

¹ $\frac{A}{4}$, p. 122.

² Ib., p. 96.

towards the maintenance of herself and children; we, the said Deputy and Council, do therefore agree and consent unto the said report, and do hereby order that the petitioner be accordingly permitted to bring back her said cattle without molestation. Whereof the said Commissioners of Revenue at Waterford, the Commissioners sitting at Loughrea, and all others concerned, are to take notice.

"Dated at Dublin, the 16th of October, 1656.

*"THOMAS HERBERT, Clerk of the Council."*¹

Mrs. Mary Thorpe, otherwise Dillon.

"Upon consideration had of the within petition of Mary Thorpe, otherwise Dillon, a Protestant; and forasmuch as by her husband's recusancy comprising him within the order made that proprietors, &c., do transplant themselves into Connaught, he is to remove accordingly, to have lands set out to him there by the Commissioners sitting at Loughrea, according to his qualification. Further considering the merit of the petitioner, and that she is reputed to be a person fearing God and affecting His worship and ordinances, It is therefore ordered, that the Commissioners at Loughrea do forthwith sett out to the petitioner's husband lands as near Athlone or other place in Connaught, where she shall desire (not repugnant to former general orders), to the end that it may afford the petitioner the better conveniency of repairing neare to such places where the Gospel is preached.

"Dublin, 6th October 1654.

*"THOMAS HERBERT, Clerk of the Council."*²

The Lady Trimleston.³

"Ordered, that it be referred to the Commissioners at Loughreagh to consider of the within petition, and upon examination of the allegations, and finding them to be true as therein is set forth, they are to permit the petitioner's husband, the Lord Trimleston,

¹ $\frac{A}{4}$, p. 62.

² Ib., p. 29.

³ See pages 114 and 186, *supra*.

to return into some place in the province of Leinster, for such time as shall be thought necessary for the recovery of his health, and so continue at the said place without removal above a mile from the same, without license from the Commander in Chief of the said precinct where he shall reside as aforesaid; provided he return into Connaught within three months.

"Dublin, 8th of August, 1654.

" Signed in the name of the Lord Deputy and Council,

" MILES CORBET."¹

Miss Mary Archer.

" Upon consideration had of a petition presented unto this Board by Mary Archer, in behalf of her aged father, Thomas Archer, and of the certificate thereunto annexed, deposed upon oath before Dudley Loftus, Esq., one of His Highness's Justices of the Peace for this county, that the said Thomas Archer is above 60 years of age, and that his transplantation into Connaught will infallibly endanger his life, if not suddenly bring him to his grave, wanting his former accustomed accommodations; It is therefore ordered, that he, the said Thomas Archer, be, and he is hereby dispensed with from transplantation into Connaught for the space of two months from the date hereof, to the end that at present he may not want the accommodations aforesaid, and thereby enable himself to travel into the transplantation quarter, according to rule.

"Dublin Castle, 19th of May, 1654.

" THOMAS HERBERT, Clerk of the Council."²

The Lord of Ikerrin.³

" Upon reading the petition of the Lord of Ikerrin, and consideration had thereof, and the report of the Standing Committee of Officers thereupon; It is thought fit and ordered, that the petitioner (in regard of his weakness and infirmity of body) be permitted to repair to the Bath in England (according to his physi-

¹ A
85, p. 22.

² A
12, p. 71.

³ See p. 179, *suprd.*

cian's advice), in order to the recovery of his health, for the space of six weeks. And it is further ordered, that the said Lord of Ikerrin's lady be dispensed with from her transplantation into Connaught for the space of two months from the 1st day of May next; and that her servants be also dispensed with from their transplantation until they have gathered in their next harvest.

"Dublin, the 24th of April, 1654.

"CHARLES FLEETWOOD, MILES CORBETT, JOHN JONES."¹

*Edmund Magrath, of Ballymore, in the Barony of Kilnemanagh,
County of Tipperary, Esq."*

"Upon consideration had of the within petition of Edmund Magrath, complaining that the woods upon the lands set out unto him in the county of Clare (pursuant to his qualification), are daily cut and destroyed by the Irish there, who bear him malice for his good services to the English, and by others, to his great damage and discouragement, and therefore praying relief in the premises; It is ordered that it be referred to the next Justices of the Peace in that county, or any two of them, who are to consider of the allegations, and to examine the matter of fact, and to take such care for the petitioner's relief in the premises as shall be agreeable to law.

"Dublin Castle, 20th May, 1656.

"THOMAS HERBERT, Clerk of the Council."²

Old Native Inhabitants of Limerick.

"Upon reading the petition and papers of the old native inhabitants of Limerick, it being alledged by the petitioners that they

¹ A
 $\frac{1}{85}$, p. 304.

* This Edmund Magrath, of Ballymore, Barony of Kilnemanagh, county of Tipperary, acted as a spy from the beginning of the Rebellion, and for his good service obtained Cromwell's special Letter of Dispensation from Transplantation, and had order to have his estate, not exceeding 800 acres, plantation measure, restored to him. Letter dated Whitehall, March 11th, 1657-8. "Letters of Lord Protector." p. 121, Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

² A
 $\frac{1}{12}$, p. 64. See also p. 154, *suprad.*

have laboured as much as in them lay to preserve the English interests in that city, and to surrender to the English, whereby they became odious to the Irish, and therefore desired some place upon the River Shannon to be assigned unto them for their residence. And upon consideration had thereof, and of the report of the Committee of Transplantation, It is ordered that the petitioners as to their merits and qualifications be referred unto the officers commanding in chief and the Commissioners of Revenue within the precinct of Limerick, who are to proceed therein, according to the tenor of the late printed declaration of 27th of March last; and as to their place of residence, it is further referred to the Commissioners sitting at Loughreagh, who are to consider thereof, and to do therein as shall be agreeable to the rules and instructions given them in that behalf.

"Dublin, 4th of April, 1654.

*"CHARLES FLEETWOOD, MILES CORBET, JOHN JONES."*¹

Mr. Richard Christmas, of Bristol, Merchant.

" Upon consideration had of the petition of Richard Christmas, of Bristol, merchant, desiring that one Edward Browne, an Irish Papist, who hath been hitherto entrusted with the management of all his affairs in and about Waterford, hath been faithful unto him, and best understands and is acquainted with the petitioner's debts and credits, may be permitted to continue in Waterford, and follow his occupations as formerly; It is hereby ordered, that the said Edward Browne be permitted to reside in Waterford for and during the space of six months from the date hereof, and no longer, he giving good security to the Governor of Waterford that he will not act anything to the prejudice of His Highness and the State: And hereof all whom it may concern are to take notice.

"Dublin, 18th August, 1656.

*"THOMAS HERBERT, Clerk of the Council."*²

¹ $\frac{A}{83}$, p. 244.

² $\frac{A}{12}$, p. 184.

Dame Mary Culme.

"Upon reading the within petition of Dame Mary Culme, setting forth that her servant, Cornelius Brady, is upon some information transplanted into Connaught, being not liable thereunto, and that the said Cornelius is her agent to sell and let her lands, and manage her necessary suits at law, &c., and thereupon praying that his transplantation might be dispensed with. And forasmuch as the respective Governors of Limerick, Galway, and Athlone, have power to give licences in the case, the Council think not fitt to do anything thereon, but leave the petitioner to make her application to the said Governors, who are to proceed in the case as shall be thought fitt.

"*Dated at the Council Chamber, Dublin, 29th of August, 1656.*

"THOMAS HERBERT, Clerk of the Council."¹

The Lady Grace Talbot.

"Upon reading the petition of Lady Grace Talbot, wife of Sir Robert Talbot, of Malahide, desiring a subsistence for her and her five children out of her estate in the county of Wicklow (alleged to be 1700 acres), or otherwise out of her husband's estate in Meath, and consideration had thereof, and of the report of Sir Hardress Waller, Sir Charles Coote, Commissary General Reynolds, and Colonel Lawrence, whereby it appears that they humbly offer it as their opinion that, in regard of the petitioner's husband Sir Robert Talbot's civil carriage during the late rebellion, and his great charge, with the considerableness of his estate in the Province of Leinster, from whence he is to be transplanted; and likewise the petitioner's incapability of receiving lands in Connaught, according to the rule of stock given out, that there be settled 500 acres of land in some convenient place in Connaught upon the said Lady Talbot and her children. And in case that her said husband's claim be allowed, and of right ascertained to a greater proportion,

¹ $\frac{A}{12}$, p. 214.

that then the said 500 acres be part thereof. And they further offer, that in regard the petitioner is an Englishwoman, and reduced to a poor condition, being without relief, and likely so to continue until the lands in Connaught shall yield her subsistence, that for six months yet to come the petitioner may receive the contribution falling due thereon. It is further thought fitt and ordered, that the said Lady Grace Talbot do receive the quantity of 500 acres of land in Connaught; and that the petitioner do enjoy one moiety of the present profits arising out of her said husband's estate in Leinster (paying contribution) for the space of six months from the date hereof.

Dublin, 17th November, 1654.

"THOMAS HERBERT, Cleark of the Council."¹

¹ $\frac{A}{4}$, p. 438.

IV.

**MAP OF THE COUNTY OF TIPPERARY, AS DIVIDED BETWEEN
THE ADVENTURERS AND SOLDIERS.**

Account of the Adventurers and their Allotments there.

(See pp. 93, 94, and 242, and 243.)

AN account having been taken of the lands forfeited in the several baronies of the ten counties and the counties divided by baronies into two equal parts,¹ a lot was drawn for the Adventurers by Alderman Avery, and for the soldiers by Colonel Hewson (appointed to that office by the Lord General Cromwell); and the several baronies in the county of Tipperary forming the two parts of the county fell to the Adventurers and Soldiers, respectively, as exhibited in the map.²

The Adventurers' baronies in the county of Tipperary were to be charged with not more than £60,000. Bodies of Adventurers who might wish to plant together might join in a lot, no one lot to exceed £5000.³

The Committee were then directed to subdivide the several baronies appropriated to the Adventurers equally by lot, according to the proportions due to each of them; and if any barony should prove deficient to answer the sum which was apportioned to it, a supply was to be made out of some redundant barony in the same county.⁴ In consequence of disputes, the Lord Protector and his Council of State, on the 6th of August, 1654, appointed the com-

¹ P. 94, *supra*.

² Analysis of the Act for Satisfaction of Adventurers and Soldiers of 26th April, 1653, MSS. in Library of Trinity College, Dublin, F. 3. 16.

³ Act of Parliament of 26th Sept. 1653.

⁴ Ib.

mittee mentioned in the Adventurers' certificate (at p. 239, n.), empowered, when many lots were upon one barony, to settle a way by lot who should remain, and who should remove; and to settle a way by lot for ascertaining the subdivision of Adventurers' proportions that should continue in the several baronies.

The committee arranged a settled method, and made a declaration for their explanation of it,¹ which unfortunately has not yet been found. Enough, however, remains in Dr. Petty's account of the Down Survey, and the certificates of the Committee, to show that they quartered and subquartered the baronies in the manner exhibited on the Map of Tipperary.² As is further proved by the plot or character annexed to Sir Nicholas Crispe's petition, as shown at page 240.

The following list of Adventurers in that county is evidently compiled from the certificates furnished to each Adventurer by the Committee at Grocers' Hall, pursuant to the Act of 27th of September, 1653.

It will be observed that in many instances the same amount of money gives a different amount of land. The conditions varied. Adventurers under the first of the Acts of Subscription, passed in 1642, commonly called the Adventurers' Act, were to be satisfied in lands by English measure. By the doubling ordinance, as it was called, made on the 14th of July, 1643,³ sums advanced were to be satisfied in double the quantity in the first Act—that is to say, the lands were to be rated at four shillings the acre instead of eight in Munster, and at two shillings instead of four in Ulster, and the measure was enlarged to Irish measure. And any original Adventurer who should within three months pay in a further sum, equal to a fourth part of the sum he had first subscribed, was to have the old and new Adventures counted together at one sum, to be repaid at the new rates.

¹ Analysis of Act of 26th Sept., 1653, MSS. T. C. D., F. 3. 16.

² And see *supra*, p. 239.

³ Scobell's "Acts and Ordinances."

It cannot be stated with certainty that the list is a complete one, for the name of Ellen Milborne does not appear among the Adventurers to be set down in the barony of Eliogarty, according to the certificate with "The Eleven Seals" given at page 239, n. This may be accounted for in one of two ways. She may have been transferred to some other county; for the entire sum charged on the county of Tipperary, according to the following list, amounts to £68,858 6s. od., thus exceeding the amount directed by the Act by £8858; or the list may be an imperfect one; and it will be seen by the Certificate of the Committee at foot of the short supplemental list appended to the account, that there were two books of Adventurers' allotments returned into Ireland; but only one has been found. These lists or books would seem to have been sent over by the Committee of Adventurers for the use of Dr. Petty, when about to review the Adventurers' proceedings, as the date, "October, 1658,"¹ corresponds with the time of his entering upon that work.²

¹ See page 400.

² "Petty's Down Survey by Larcom," chaps. xvi. and xvii.

"ACCOUNT OF THE ADVENTURERS IN THE COUNTY OF TIPPERARY."*

BARONY OF MIDDLETHIRD.

APPENDIX.

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Division.	Subdivisions.	Adventurers.	Sum of Money.	Irish Measure.	English Measure.
			£ s. d.	A. R. P.	A. R. P.
North-East Quarter, No. 1.	1.	William Watts, Rowland Hill, assignee to William Watts,	300 0 0	666 2 6	1079 3 21
		Francis Allen, Robert Eldred, Henry Ellington, Corporation of Exeter,	100 0 0 400 0 0 100 0 0 25 0 0	222 0 34 888 3 22 222 0 34 55 2 8	359 3 31 1439 3 16 359 3 31 89 6 37
	2.	Thomas Eyres, Colonel John Owen, assignee to Wil- liam Watts,	1883 6 8	2583 2 32	4185 0 29
	3.	William Webster, James Yeates, John Hall,			
	4.	Thomas Moore, Mary or Robert Garland,			
South-East Quarter, No. 2.	1.	Richard Clutterbuck, George Shell, Abigail Lloyd, assignee to Alderman Ridges,	900 0 0 350 0 0	2000 0 0 777 3 3	3239 2 27 1359 1 22
	2.	Nicholas Bond, Charles Roberts,	100 0 0 1400 0 0	222 0 34 311 0 17	359 3 31 359 3 31 5039 1 36
	3.				
South-West Quarter, No. 3.	No. 1.				
	No. 2.				

* From the Books of Dudley Loftus in the Library of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, commonly called Archbishop Marsh's Library, V. 3. 1. 35.

BARONY OF MIDDLETHIRD—*continued.*

Divisions.	Subdivisions.	Adventurers.	Sums of Money.	Irish Measure.	English Measure.
			£ a. d.	A. R. P.	A. R. P.
	1	Samuel Northcott,	50 0 0	68 2 14	111 0 17
	2	Thomas Dennis,	50 0 0	68 2 14	111 0 17
	3	Mary Page and Anne Sheppott,	100 0 0	223 0 35	359 3 31
	4	Thomas Wallis,	50 0 0	111 0 17	179 3 35
	5	{ Sarah Shortt,	150 0 0	333 1 13	559 3 30
	6	{ John Shortt,	225 0 0	500 0 0	869 3 26
	7	Richard Hayden,	750 0 0	1666 2 16	2699 2 34
	8	{ Thomas Moore,	300 0 0	411 2 11	666 2 26
		Christopher Towsse and Nathaniel Witham,	200 0 0	444 1 30	719 2 26
	9	Rowland Hill,	250 0 0	555 2 8	899 3 23
	10	Matthew Squire,	100 0 0	223 0 35	359 3 33
	11	William Sutton,	200 0 0	444 1 30	719 2 26
	12	Joshua and Caleb Pearce,	30 0 0	41 0 24	66 2 26
	13	{ Abasneus Regiment,	100 0 0	223 0 35	359 3 33
		William Ridges,	120 0 0	266 2 25	431 3 29
North-West Quarter,		Mary Daire,	600 0 0	1333 1 13	2159 3 4
		Cor ^r . Burgess,	700 0 0	1555 2 8	2519 2 35
		Richard Scott,	520 0 0	1155 2 8	1871 3 8
		George Clarke,	1000 0 0	2233 0 34	3599 2 18
					38,090 2 29

BARONY OF IFFA AND OFFA.

Divisions.	Subdivisions.	Adventurers.	Sums of Money.			Irish Measure.	English Measure.
			£	s.	d.		
East, No. 1.	North, No. 1, and North, No. 2.	William Beraton, Colonel William Beoville,	100	0	0	22s 0d	3 33
		Thomas Combe,	400	0	0	88s 0d	3 14
	John Clay,	20	0	0	27	1 29	44
		60	0	0	133	1 13	215
	Abraham Barnabye, Simon Lunney,	25	0	0	55	2 8	89
		Joseph Clifton,	95	0	0	225	2 8
	William Munggrave, Ion Fisher,	20	0	0	27	1 29	44
		Bartholomew White,	25	0	0	55	2 8
	South, No. 4.	300	0	0	666	2 26	1079
		Yarmouth Corporation,	600	0	0	1333	1 13
East Middle, No. 2.	Humphrey Towne, Giles Moore,	600	0	0	1333	1 13	2159
		25	0	0	34	1 6	55
	Peter Chavaney, John Seager,	100	0	0	137	0 30	222
		200	0	0	444	1 30	355
	Charles Crooke, Roger Whitehall,	225	0	0	500	0 0	809
		100	0	0	222	0 34	359
West Middle, No. 3.	Francis Finch, Humphrey Bedingfield,	200	0	0	444	1 30	719
		200	0	0	444	1 30	719
	Philip Munggrave,	20	0	0	44	1 31	71
						2 12	
						1	

BARONY OF IFFA AND OFFA—continued.

Divisions.	Subdivisions.	Adventurers.	Sums of Money.	Irish Measure.	English Measure.
			£ s. d.	A. B. P.	A. B. P.
East, No. 1.	West, No 4.	John Dawson, Anthony Bosfield, Samuel Clarke, Peter Radcliffe, John Sturmy, Robert Price, John Pitt,*	300 0 0 180 0 0 300 0 0 25 0 0 40 0 0 100 0 0 100 0 0	496 2 13 400 0 0 666 0 26 55 2 8 88 3 22 223 0 34 223 0 34	804 1 21 647 3 29 1079 3 21 89 3 37 143 3 36 359 3 34 359 3 34
		John Wheatley, Henry Langham, Ephraim Bishop, Roger Seat,	125 0 0 340 0 0 20 0 0 100 0 0 66 13 4 50 0 0 133 6 8 100 0 0 100 0 0	277 3 2 755 2 8 27 1 29 222 0 34 91 1 32 111 0 17 18 3 1 222 0 34 222 0 34	499 3 30 1223 3 18 44 1 31 359 3 33 148 0 23 179 3 35 296 0 7 359 2 31 359 3 31
		John Amyot, Richard Haddilove, James Blatt,	111 0 0 18 3 1 100 0 0	111 0 17 18 3 1 222 0 34	179 3 35
		William Almond, Thomas Valentine,	100 0 0	100 0 0	
		John Boyse, Elizabeth Cooke, Richard Newtowns, Charles Acock,	100 0 0 100 0 0 300 0 0 500 0 0	222 0 34 222 0 34 666 3 26 1111 0 17	359 3 31 359 3 31 1079 3 21 1799 3 9
		No. 1. East Middle.	100 0 0	222 0 34	359 3 31
		No. 2. No. 2.	100 0 0	222 0 35	359 3 33
West Middle, No. 3.	No. 1.	Hugh Radcliffe, Thomas Cheunning,	650 0 0	1444 1 30 544 1 27	2319 2 37 881 3 18
	2.	100 0 0	222 0 35	359 3 33	
	Jerome Sankey,	50 0 0	111 0 17	180 0 35	

* For an incident in this Devout Adventurer's experience of the county of Tipperary, in 1656, see p. 258, *supra*.

BARONY OF IFFA AND OFFA—continued.

Divisions.	Subdivisions.	Adventurers.	Sums of Money.			Irish Measure.		English Measure.	
			£	s.	d.	A.	B. P.	A.	B. P.
East Middle, No. 2.	West, No. 4.	Laurence Peacock,	50	0	0	111	0 17	179	8 35
		Thomas Woodley,	166	13	4	370	1 14	599	3 21
		William Richardson,	50	0	0	111	0 17	180	0 35
		Simon Ashe,	100	0	0	222	0 34	359	3 21
		George Clarke,	350	0	0	777	3 33	1359	3 17
West Middle, No. 3.	West Quarter, No. 4.	Jerome Sankey,	200	0	0	444	1 28	719	3 22
		William Rogers,	50	0	0	111	0 17	179	3 35
		Abraham Alexander Beno,	1250	0	0	2777	3 4	4499	2 5
		Alderman George Withern,	750	0	0	1666	2 26	2699	2 34
		Richard Hutchinson,	760	0	0	1466	2 25	2375	3 2
West Quarter, No. 4.		Thomas Barnardiston,	625	0	0	1388	3 21	2449	3 1
		Alderman John Kendricke,	700	0	0	1555	2 8	2319	2 37
		Thomas Addys,	361	5	0	802	3 4	1300	1 18
		Robert Hamon,	143	15	0	319	1 31	517	1 31
		Sir William Brereton,	1200	0	0	1646	2 37	2666	2 22
		Gilbert Lambele,	625	0	0	1388	3 21	2249	3 1
		The Lady Ingram,	1000	0	0	1371	3 20	2222	0 35
		Humphrey Towne,	1200	0	0	2666	2 27	4319	2 19
		The said Sir William Brereton,	500	0	0	1111	0 17	1799	3 9
		John Seed,	200	0	0	444	1 30	719	3 26
		Thomas Bigg,	100	0	0	222	0 35	359	3 33
		William Tibbs,	1102	0	0	2418	0 18	3916	3 30
		Richard Kittlebutler,	25	0	0	34	1 6	55	2 8
								39597	2 12

APPENDIX.

THE BARONY OF CLANWILLIAM.

Divisions.	Subdivisions.	Adventurers.	Sum of Money. £ s. d.	Irish Measure.	English Measure.
			£ s. d.	A. R. P.	A. R. P.
		Richard Thrale, Christ Foster, Samuel and Daniel Brewster, John Hart, Abraham Miller, Ann and Elizabeth Francis, John Curtiss, Richard Allen, Thomas Gower,	600 0 0 50 0 0 40 0 0 200 0 0 62 10 0 600 0 0 100 0 0 100 0 0	1333 1 13 68 2 14 44 3 19 444 1 28 138 3 21 1333 1 13 222 0 34 222 0 34	2159 3 3 111 0 17 88 3 25 719 3 22 224 3 35 2159 3 30 359 3 30 359 3 30
North-East Quarter, No. 1.					
South-East, No. 2.		Thomas Gower, Theophilus Biddolph, Theophilus Birkenhead,			
North-East Quarter, No. 1.	South-West, No. 3. North-West, No. 4.	Thomas Stock, Richard Hill, Alexander Popahan,	600 0 0 250 0 0 1000 0 0	1333 1 13 555 2 8 1371 3 20	2159 3 30 899 3 23 2222 0 35
North-East, No. 1.					
South-East Quarter, No. 2.		Henry Box, John O'field, Thomas Briscoe, Joseph Ruthorne, John Player, Peregrine Prettie, Zachariah Worth, Joseph Ling, William Almond,	400 0 0 500 0 0 100 0 0 250 0 0 25 0 0 200 0 0 100 0 0 100 0 0 25 0 0	888 3 21 1111 0 17 222 0 34 555 2 8 55 2 8 444 1 28 100 0 0 222 0 34 55 2 8	1439 3 14 1799 3 9 539 3 31 899 3 23 89 3 37 719 3 22 359 3 31 359 3 37 89 3 37

THE BARONY OF CLANWILLIAM.—*continued.*

Divisions.	Subdivisions.	Adventures.	Sums of Money.	Irish Measure.	English Measure.
			£ s. d.	R. P.	A. R. P.
South-East Quarter, No. 2.	South-West, No. 3.	{ Daniel Waldoe, John Raymoun, Joseph Jaques, Richard Symons,	600 0 0 300 0 0	1333 1 13 666 2 26	2159 3 4 1079 3 21
	North-East, No. 4.	{ Hezekiah Woodward, Samuel Blackwell, Samuel Blackwell, Rawbigh Clapham, John Man,	750 0 0 100 0 0 38 0 0 200 0 0 30 0 0	750 0 0 222 0 34 137 0 29 84 1 30 274 1 18	1666 2 26 359 3 31 222 0 35 156 3 3 444 1 30
	North East No. 1.	{ East, No. 1.	250 0 0	41 0 24 555 0 8	66 2 26 899 3 23
South-West Quarter, No. 3.	South-East, No. 2.	{ East, No. 1. West, No. 2.	50 0 0 100 0 0 200 0 0 300 0 0 800 0 0	222 0 34 448 1 30 666 2 26 1777 3 2	68 2 14 359 3 31 719 3 26 2879 2 29
	South-West, No. 3.	{ Jane Blande, John Dawson, Edward Ash, Sir Richard Onslowe,	200 0 0 600 0 0 400 0 0 400 0 0	444 1 30 1333 1 13 888 3 21 548 3 0	719 3 26 2159 3 4 1439 3 14 888 3 22
North-West Quarter, No. 4.	East, No. 1. West, No. 2.	{ Erasmus Smith, George Clarke,	1345 0 0 2000 0 0	2988 3 22 4444 1 31	4841 2 1 7199 1 2
					2959 3 0

BARONY OF ELIOGARTIE.

Divisions.	Subdivisions,	Adventurers.	Sums of Money.			Irish Measure.	English Measure.
			£	s.	d.	A.	R.
North-east Quarter, No. 1.	No. 1.	John Temple, William Sheares, Thomas Mathew, Andrew Broughton, James Mathew, John Lake, Thomas Kinney, Grace Heathcott, Edward Barker,	200	0	0	274	1 20
	No. 2.	1 2 3 4	300	0	0	411	2 9
	No. 1.	1 2 3	150	0	0	333	1 13
	No. 2.	1 2 3	100	0	0	222	0 35
	No. 1.	1 2 3	100	0	0	222	0 34
	No. 2.	1 2 3	200	0	0	444	1 30
	No. 1.	1 2 3	400	0	0	888	3 21
	No. 2.	1 2 3	25	0	0	34	1 6
	No. 1.	1 2 3	600	0	0	1333	1 13
	No. 2.	1 2 3	150	0	0	333	1 13
South-East Quarter, No. 2.	No. 1.	John Trelawney, Nicholas Herring, Robert Trelawney, John Winpeare, John Soame, Benjamin Atkins, Margaret Shakpeare, Peter Atkins,	150	0	0	333	1 13
	No. 1.	1 2	900	0	0	2000	0 0
	No. 2.	1 2	450	0	0	1000	0 0
	No. 1.	1 2	75	0	0	166	2 26
	No. 2.	1 2	300	0	0	666	3 26
	No. 1.	1 2	50	0	0	111	0 17
	No. 2.	1 2	100	0	0	222	0 35
	No. 1.	1 2	25	0	0	34	1 6
	No. 2.	1 2	55	0	0	55	2 8
	No. 1.	1 2	34	0	0	34	1 6

BARONY OF ELLOGARTIE.—*continued.*

Divisions.	Subdivisions.	Adventurers.	Sums of Money.		Irish Measure.		English Measure.	
			£.	s.	d.	A.	B.	P.
South-West Quarter,	No. 1.	William Lambert,	100	0	0	222	0	31
		Roger Lambert,	300	0	0	581	2	21
		Robert Kircombe,	50	0	0	111	0	17
	No. 2.	John Turbington,	120	0	0	266	2	29
		Samuel Ball,	125	0	0	277	3	30
		James Phillips,	200	0	0	444	1	28
	No. 3.	Joshua Northcott,	100	0	0	137	0	30
		William Tilleye,	100	0	0	222	0	34
		Edward Austin,	100	0	0	222	0	34
North-East,	No. 1.	Nicholas Howard .	100	0	0	222	0	31
		William Allen,	550	0	0	1222	0	36
		Richard Rogers,	650	0	0	1444	1	30
	No. 2.	George Underwood's Children,	100	0	0	222	0	39
		Thomas Barker,	50	0	0	68	2	14
		Benjamin Underwood,	50	0	0	11	0	17
	No. 3.	John Hunter,	100	0	0	222	0	31
		James Hayes,	100	0	0	222	0	31
		William Skrimshawe,	50	0	0	111	0	17
North-West Part,	No. 4.	Alderman William Underwood,	350	0	0	777	3	17
		Martin North,	1040	0	0	2311	0	17
		John Hawes,	400	0	0	888	3	14
							1439	3

BARONY OF ILEAGH.

Divisions.	Subdivisions.	Adventurers.	Sums of Money.	Irish Measure.			English Measure.		
				£	s.	d.	A.	R.	P.
North-East Quarter, No. 1.		Richard Boughton, Thomas White, and John Dowling,	345 16 8	1213	3	2	1964	3	26
		Robert Crawley, Richard Tyler,	250 0 0	1111	0	17	1799	3	9
South-East Quarter, No. 2.		Richard Boughton, Thomas White, and John Dowling,	272 13 4	606	0	0	982	3	11
		Joseph Blackwell,	337 1 0	750	0	0	1214	3	20
South-West Quarter, No. 3.		George Starbshire, Susan and Thomas Daniel, Elizabeth and Sarah Swinnick, John Mosyer, formerly claymied by	200 0 0	444	1	30	719	3	26
		John and Ann Lound, James Fletcher, Thomas Guy,	250 0 0	222	0	35	359	3	23
North-West Quarter, No. 4.		John and Ann Lound, James Fletcher, Thomas Guy,	100 0 0	555	2	8	899	3	23
			200 0 0	137	0	28	222	0	34
			200 0 0	444	1	30	719	3	26
				444	1	30	719	3	26
				5929	0	4			

BARONY OF IKERRIN.

Divisions.	Subdivisions.	Adventurers.	Sums of Money.	Irish Measure.	English Measure.
			£. s. d.	A. R. P.	A. R. P.
North-East Quarter, No. 1.		John Blackwell, Senior, John Blackwell, Junior,	300 0 0 1350 0 0	666 2 26 2914 3 33	1079 3 21 4721 2 39
		Alderman John Foulkes, Doctor Roger Drake, William Thornburie,	600 0 0 500 0 0 200 0 0	1333 1 13 1111 0 17 444 1 30	2159 3 4 1799 3 8 719 3 26
South-East Quarter, No. 2.		Mary Hubert, William Heather, The said William Heather,	100 0 0 50 0 0 75 0 0	222 0 35 35 0 35 277 3 2	335 3 33 335 3 33 449 3 30
		Anthony Radcliff, Simon Middleton,	300 0 0 1200 0 0	666 0 34 2666 2 6	1079 3 21 4319 2 8
South-West Quarter, No. 3.		Thomas Bayley, Thomas Woodcock, Alderman William Ridge,	150 0 0 100 0 0 150 0 0	333 1 13 222 0 34 205 3 4	539 3 30 359 3 31 333 1 12
		Gerard Boate, Symon Creasy, Robert Wallis,	468 15 0 10 0 0 125 0 0	847 3 20 22 0 30 277 3 2	1372 0 37 35 3 6 449 3 30
South-West Quarter, No. 4.		William Heather, Oliver Brunsell, Henry Goddenden,	100 0 0 20 0 0 100 0 0	222 0 34 44 1 31 222 0 34	359 3 31 71 3 38 359 3 31
		Katherine Boate, Robert Maltbies, Henry Day,	156 5 0 150 0 0 350 0 0	283 1 10 333 1 13 777 3 3	437 1 14 539 3 30 1359 1 22
					13,984 3 14

Signed by order of the Committee of Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, sitting at Grocers' Hall, London.
Per RICHARD DEACON, Clerk to ye said Committee.

APPENDIX.

[SUPPLEMENTAL LIST.]

	£ s. d.	Value upon Doubling. £ s. d.	Letters differencing y ^r Measure.	Irish Measure.	English Measure.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		A. R. P.	A. R. P.
<i>In y^r Barony of Middlethorpe, q.c.</i> Robert Hamon, of London, merchant, assignee of Cornelius Burgess, Doctor in Divinity, and late Vicar of Watford in y ^r county of Hartford.	700 0 0	.....	I	1555 2 8	2519 2 35
George Clarke, of London, merchant, assignee of Richard Sellway, Esq.	1000 0 0	.....	I	2222 0 34	3599 2 18
<i>In y^r Barony of Ifea and Offa.</i> Richard Kettlebutter, of St. Peter's Vincles, within y ^r Liberties of the Tower of London, citizen, cutler.	25 0 0	.....	E	34 1 6	55 2 6
<i>In y^r Barony of Clanwilliam.</i> Nathaniel Lacey, eldest sonne of Nathaniel Lacey, and nephew and next heir of Richard Lacey, late of London, haberdasher, deceased.	225 0 0	.....	I	444 1 30	719 3 26
<i>In y^r Barony of Ikerkin.</i> Henry Day, of London, mercer.	225 0 0	530 0 0	I	777 3 3	1259 1 22

26th October, 1658.

This page above written conteyneth all y^r Claymeyes of and for such Adventurers as have been by us allowed,
and not incerted in either of y^r two former Books by us certified under our hands, and sent into Ireland.

NATHANIEL MANTON, JOHN FENTON, ROBERT HAMON, ELIAS ROBERTS.

V.

THIS LIST OF ADVENTURERS FOR LANDS IN IRELAND, and of those who subscribed for the Sea Service, is taken from the collection of papers relating to the execution of the Act of Settlement made in 1675, by order of the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,¹ and preserved in nine folio volumes in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle. It is evidently a list of the original Adventurers under the various Acts and Ordinances of subscription, commencing with the Act of 17 Charles I., chap. 33, A. D. 1642, and ending in 1646, when all further subscription ceased. It was not until 1653 that preparations were made for setting out lands in satisfaction. Eleven years had then elapsed since the first Act of Subscription in 1642. Some of the original Adventurers were, of course, dead, and others of them had sold and assigned their Adventures. An order of the Council of State of 1 June, 1653, was made, regulating the method to be pursued by the Adventurers in proceeding to obtain satisfaction by lot for their adventures. A Committee, appointed by that order, were directed to examine the truth of all men's claims, and to make out a book containing the sums of money they should allow, and the names as well of the first Adventurers as of the persons then claiming the adventures. They were to give each Adventurer a certificate, setting forth what number of acres were due to him in English measure, in satisfaction of the proportion

¹ Lib. M., fo. 324, Record Tower, Dublin Castle. "By His Majesty's command, all the records of this kingdom which relate to the distribution of lands by the Act of Settlement have been searched, and extracts made out of them in order to the discovery of concealed lands. This work is contained in twelve or fourteen volumes, now ready to be sent over." Earl of Essex to Secretary Conway, 22nd May, 1675. "Letters written by His Excellency Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the year 1675," p. 284. 4to. London: 1770. Of these volumes only nine now remain.

due to him by the former Acts and Ordinances in Irish measure; and this certificate, under the hands and seals of any Five of the Committee, was to be the warrant to make his claim in Ireland. They were further to make an entry in a book of every certificate they should issue, expressing the sum, and the name of the first Adventurer, and of the person to whom such certificate should be given, together with the proportion of lands due to him, as contained in the certificate. And they were to cause a transcript to be made in a Parchment Roll, and transmitted to the Chamber of London, there to remain as a public record. There were thus provided two complete records of the names of the Adventurers, and their subscriptions, and the quantities of land required to satisfy them—one to remain with the Committee of Adventurers (at Grocers' Hall, it is presumed); the other in the Chamber of London. All the books of the Adventurers' proceedings were, on 23rd September, 1671, handed over by Sir Joseph Williamson to Sir James Shaen,¹ keeper of the papers relating to the King's Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland, and perished with the papers relating to the execution of the Acts of Settlement in the fire that consumed the Council Office in Essex-street, Dublin, on Sunday, 15th April, 1711,² and amongst them, probably, the Book containing the lists of the original Adventurers and their assignees.

With regard to the Roll ordered to be lodged in the Chamber of London, it was commonly said, in answer to inquiries made some years ago, that it had probably been burnt, with other documents of that depository, in the great fire of London, in 1666. But this being found to be a mistake, application was made to the Town Clerk of London, in September, 1869; but on search made, he reported that he could find no such roll. If it should turn out that the list copied into this volume is the only one surviving, it will, of course, be all the more valuable.

¹ Letter of A. Kingston, Esq., Public Record Office, London, July, 1862.

² Reference (28th September, 1711), on petition of Hugh Clement, Record Tower, Dublin Castle, *Carton*, No. 219.

"THE NAMES AND SUBSCRIPTIONS OF THE ADVENTURERS FOR LANDS IN IRELAND, AS ALSO OF THOSE WHO SUBSCRIBED FOR Y^E SEA SERVICE."

[Where a less sum than that subscribed was paid, the part payment is put in the outer column.]

	£	s	d
1. JOHN PIM, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600		
2. Sir John Potts, Kn ^t . and Bart., a member of y ^e House,	600		
3. John Ash, Esq., a member of y ^e House, and compartners,	1200		
4. Nathaniel Hallows, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	300		
5. Hugh Ratcliffe,	300		
6. Walter Lee,	150		
7. Francis Newman,	150		
8. George Clarke, merchant taylor,	100		
9. Richard Collect, merchant taylor,	100		
10. Robert Barefoot, merchant taylor,	100		
11. Thomas Pargiter, grocer,	100		
12. John Locke, blacksmith,	100		
13. John Wilde, Serjt-at-Law, a member of y ^e House,	200		
14. Thomas Lane,	400		
15. William Adams,	200		
16. Edmond Pott,	200		
17. Joane Lane, widdow,	200		
18. Robert Reynolds, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	1200		
19. Sir Robert Pye, a member of y ^e House,	1000		
20. Sir Thomas Barrington, Kn ^t . and Bar ^t , mem- ber of y ^e House,	1200		

	£	s	d
21. Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	700		
22. William Heveningham, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600		
23. William Heveningham for himself and others, 1200			
24. Thomas Eden, D ^r . of Law, a member of y ^e House,	600		
25. Sir David Watkins, of London,	2025		
26. Sir Edward Mumford, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	300		
27. Richard Harmon, a member of y ^e House,	300		
28. Sir William Brereton, Kn ^t . and Bar ^t , a member of y ^e House,	1200		
29. Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Kn ^t . and Bar ^t , a mem- ber of y ^e House,	600		
30. James Barnes, of y ^e Inner Temple, gent.,	400		
31. Thomas Page, of Roxe, in Middlesex,	100		
32. Samuel Edlin, of Pinner, in Middlesex, gent.,	100		
33. ffrrancis Duke of Westminster, gent.,	200		
34. Henry Arrundell, of Northall, in Middlesex, gent.,	150		
35. Katherine Baker, of Uxbridge,	80		
36. William and John Arrundel, of Keninton, in Middlesex,	100		
37. Richard Nicholl, of [] in Middlesex,	50		
38. Daniel Enderbe, of Staines, in Middlesex,	50		
39. Thomas Palentine, of [],	100		
40. John Poulter, of [],	70		
41. John Gowrdon, Esq., a member of y ^e House, 1000			
42. Sir John ffranklin, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	600		
43. Sir Samuel Role, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House, 1000			
44. John Hampden, Esq., a member of y ^e House, 1000			
45. Sir William Waller, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	1000		

	£	s	d
46. Sir Robert Parkhurst, Kn ^t ., a member of y ^e House,	1000		
47. John Lisle, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600		
48. Bulstrode Whitlock, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	400		
49. Harbert Morley, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600		
50. William Spurston, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	400		
51. James Rand, apothecary,	200		
52. S ^r . John Evelin, of Godston, a member of y ^e House,	600		
53. Thomas Cole, merchant taylor,	300		
54. Richard Sherbrooke,	300		
55. William Hitchcocke, merchant taylor,	150		
56. William Henman, merchant taylor,	150		
57. S ^r . Walter Earle, a member of y ^e House,	600	300	
58. Oliver St. John, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600	300	
59. S ^r . Edward Bayntun, Kn ^t ., a member of y ^e House,	600	450	
60. S ^r . Thomas Soame, Kn ^t . a member of y ^e House,	1000		
61. John Blackiston, of Newcastle, Esq., a mem- ber of y ^e House,	900		
	600	300	
62. Arthur Goodwin, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	400		
63. Anthony Ratcliff,	300		
64. Thomas Knight,	100		
65. Matthew Pedder,	100		
66. Thomas ffountaine,	200		
67. John Pim,	300		
68. Richard Gardner,	100		
69. Thomas Wyan,	100		
70. Phillip Owen,	200		
71. Thomas Knight, Esq.,	200		
72. Oliver Cromwell, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	300		

	£	£	s	d
73. Moses Wall, of Marg ^t . New fish-street,	200			
74. Elizabeth Austrey, servant to M ^r . Cromwell,	200			
75. S ^r Samuel Owfeild, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	1300			
76. S ^r . Arthur Hazlerigg, Kn ^t . and Bar ^t ., a mem- ber of y ^e House,	1000			
77. S ^r W. Drake, Kn ^t . and Bar ^t ., a member of y ^e House,	300			
78. Gabriell Brooke, of Lincoln's Inn, gent., .	300			
79. Richard Bernard, of Lincoln's Inn, gent., .	200			
80. S ^r John Culpepper, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	600	150		
81. Alexander and Bence, Esq., a member of y ^e House, [so in the original], .	600			
82. Anthony Bedingfeld, of London, mercer, and W ^m Cage, of Ipswich, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	700			
83. W ^m Glanvill, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600			
84. John Trenchard, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600			
85. Samuel Vassel, of London, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	1230	300		
86. The Lord Wenman, a member of y ^e House,	600			
87. John Packer, of Westminster, Esq., .	600			
88. John Browne, Esq., Clerk of House of Peers,	600			
89. S ^r Anthony Ashley Cooper, Bar ^t , a member of y ^e House,	600	150		
90. Richard Winwood, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600	300		
91. S ^r William Masham, Bar ^t , a member of y ^e House,	600			
92. Martin Lumley, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	1200			
93. John Role, Esq., of Devon, a member of y ^e House,	450			
94. John Crew, of Steane, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600			

	£	£	s.	d.
95. S ^r . Thomas Dacres, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	600			
96. Cornelius Holland, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600			
97. Nath ^l ffyenna, Esq., a member of y ^e House, and Henry Pett,	600			
98. S ^r John Harrison, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	1200	200		
99. William Harrison, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600	150		
100. George Barker, of Richmond, Esq.,	200			
101. ffrrancis Rogers, of Nonsuch, Esq.,	100			
102. John Bentley, of Lincoln's Inn, Graning in Middlesex, gent.,	200			
103. Nicholas Knapp, of Ewill, in Surrey, gent.,	100			
104. S ^r Edward Hale, Bar ^t , a member of y ^e House,	1200			
105. John Ewelin, of the Middle Temple, London,	600			
106. John and Robert Goodwin, Esq ^m ., members of y ^e House,	600			
107. William Stroud, Esq., member of y ^e House, and compartners,	600			
108. S ^r Gilbert Pickering, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	600			
109. S ^r . Edward Ayscough, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	600	150		
110. George Buller, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600			
111. Walter Long, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	1200	300		
112. Robert Sutton, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	200			
113. Isaacke Penington, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	1000			
114. James Cambell, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600	300		
115. Henry Martin, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	1200	300		
116. S ^r Richard Onslow, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	400			
117. John Browne, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600	450		
118. S ^r William Morley, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	1200	300		

	£	\$	d.
119. S ^r Edward Partheridge, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	600		
120. S ^r John Northcott, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	450	225	
121. ffrauncis Drake, Esq., a member of y ^e House, and compartners,	600		
122. Miles Corbett, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	200		
123. S ^r John Dryden, Bart., a member of y ^e House,	600		
124. S ^r William Strickland, Bar ^t , a member of y ^e House,	600		
125. John Barker, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	1200		
126. Richard Shuttleworth, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600	450	
127. John Jesson, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	300	75	
128. Thomas Hoyle, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600	450	
129. Gilbert Willington, Esq., a member of y ^e House, and compartners,	1275		
130. Dennis Bond, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	2000		
131. Augustine Skinner, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	200	100	
132. S ^r William Allenson, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	600	300	
133. Roger Mathew, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	300		
134. Edward Lord Littleton, Keeper of the Great Seale,	600	150	
135. Philip Earle of Pembrooke and Mountgomery,	2400	600	
136. S ^r Jacob Garrard, Kn ^t , and Alderman of London,	600		
137. Thomas Adams, of London, Alderman,	600		
138. S ^r Nicholas Crispe, Kn ^t , and compartners,	1500	900	
139. John Towse, of London, Alderman,	700		
140. S ^r John Wollaston, of London, Kn ^t , and Al- derman,	900		
141. Richard Gipps, of Hogsden, Esq.,	200		
142. Thomas Viner, of London, goldsmith,	200		
143. ffrauncis Ashe, of London, goldsmith,	200		
144. W. Daniel, of London, goldsmith,	100		

		£	s	d
145.	Humphrey Bedingfield, of London, goldsmith,	200		
146.	William Gibbs, of London, goldsmith,	200		
147.	D ^r John King, of St. Albans,	100		
148.	Richard Morral, of London, goldsmith,	100		
149.	Francis Wolley, a compartner, of London, haberdasher,	100		
150.	Alexander Jackson, of London, goldsmith,	100		
151.	George Gipps, Parson of Ailston,	100		
152.	John ffowke, of London, Alderman,	600		
153.	John Warner, of London, Alderman,	380		
154.	Lawrence Hawilsted, of London, Esq., Alderman,	600	150	
155.	Thomas Andrews, of London, Alderman,	675		
156.	Richard Sallwey, of London, Fish-street Hill,	1000		
157.	Sampson Sheffield, pens ^t . to the King's Majesty,	400		
158.	Francis Smith, of Greenwich,	200	50	
159.	John Solsted, of London, mercer,	600		
160.	Gabril Miles, of London, mercer,	800		
161.	Edward Mileston, D ^r . of Physicke,	200		
162.	George Almery, gent.,	800		
163.	John Holland, gent.,	400		
164.	Penning Ailster, grocer,	200		
165.	William Reynold, mercer,	200		
166.	Joseph Ailston, merchant,	200		
167.	John fountain, of filpot-lane,	300		
168.	Richard Hull, draper, in Cheapside,	200		
169.	Ahasuerus Regmerter, D ^r . of Physicke,	400		
170.	Philip Starky, cooke in Gracious-street,	203		
171.	Henry Godsden, of Darkeing, in Surrey,	100		
172.	John Young, draper, in Lumbard-street,	100		
173.	Job Weale, of Kingstone, in Surrey, phisitian,	600	374	8
174.	Samuel Moody, of Bury, in Suffolk,	200		
175.	John Sparrow, of Reed, in Suff.,	100		

		£	s	d
176.	John Bright, of Bury, in Suffolke,	300		
177.	John Clerke, of Bury, in Suff.,	300		
178.	William Crickmore, of Bury, in Suff.,	300		
179.	Hugh Grove, of Bury, in Suff.,	100		
180.	Jasper Pheasant, of Dublin, in Ireland,	100		
181.	William Harryman, of Canon-street, merchant taylor,	100		
182.	John Snow, in Cannon-street,	100		
183.	John Parker, of Mary Atthill, London,	700		
184.	Richard Coish, skinner, in Watling-street,	120		
185.	William Alcocke, jr., in Canon-street, merchant taylor,	100	25	
186.	Sam Debbe, or Dabbe, of London, grocer,	100	75	
187.	Thomas Thorould, of London, Esq.,	600		
188.	The Masters and Governors of y ^e Barber Chirurgeons,	200	50	
189.	Abraham Jackson, of Newington, clk.,	300		
190.	John Baker, of London, weaver,	200	100	
191.	Thomas Orchard, of London, chandler,	100		
192.	Jeoffry Galton, of London,	25		
193.	William Almond, pewterer,	25		
194.	George Raie, stationer,	25		
195.	Thomas Rogers, of Dartford, in Kent, Esq.,	100		
196.	Thomas Round,	50		
197.	John Round,	50		
198.	Isaacke Thompson, of Dartford, in Kent, linning draper,	50		
199.	William Balam, of Lincoln's Inn,	100	50	
200.	Valentine flegg, of fleet-street,	100		
201.	Daniel Lewis and compartners, of London, merchant taylors,	200		
202.	John Lamott, of London, Esq.,	600		
203.	Edward Michell, of London, scrivener,	50		
204.	John Wardell, of London, grocer,	600	150	
205.	Henry Polsted,	200		

		£	£	s. d.
206.	William Farrington,	200		
207.	Thomas Barnardiston,	200		
208.	Hugh Morris,	200		
209.	Thomas Stubbins,	200		
210.	Caldwell ffarrington,	200		
211.	Henry Polsteed, j ^r ,	200		
212.	William Risby, draper,	100		
213.	Samuel Moyer, merchant,	300	75	
214.	Robert Dowys, of Lowghton,	300		
215.	Simon Dun, of London, ironmonger,	100		
216.	John Hoxton, of Wapping, shipwright,	100		
217.	Thomas Cory, Prothonotary of H. M.'s Court of Common Pleas,	300		
218.	Thomas How, of South Okenden,	300		
219.	Thomas Smith, of London,	100		
220.	John Yates, minister, of Herefordshire,	100		
221.	Edward Pinner, in Herefordshire,	100		
222.	William Low, of Elton, in Hereford- shire, clk.,	100		
223.	William Botterill, of Ludlow, in Sallop,	50		
224.	John King, of London, haberdasher,	100		
225.	Robert Crowley, of Whitechappel, haber- dasher,	100	75	
226.	Robert Adams, of White chappel, marryner,	100		
227.	Richard Dornelly, and copartners,	200		
228.	William flesher,	200		
229.	Richard Hunt, of London, merchant,	600		
230.	John Pordage, D ^r . of Physicke,	100		
231.	Henry ffalder, of London, haberdasher,	200		
232.	Nicholas Lockier, of Islington,	100		
233.	Richard Wade, of London, carpenter,	6100	100	
234.	Thomas Hall, of London, cordwayner,	100		
235.	Henry Day, of London, mercer,	300	200	
236.	Mathew Owen, of London, grocer,	100	75	
237.	John Oldfeild, of London, ffishmonger,	200		

		£	s.	d.
238.	Nicholas Parry, of St. Andrew's, Holburne,	50		
239.	Charles Crooke, of Amersham, in Bucks, .	225		
240.	Osmond Colchester, and James Peacocke, .	50		
241.	Capt. Edmond Harvey,	100		
242.	Edmond Sleigh,	100		
243.	ffrancis Dashwood,	200	50	
244.	Nathaniel Deards, of London, merchant, .	50		
245.	John Carter, leather seller,	50		
246.	Nicholas Bonner, painter staeyner,	100		
247.	William Woodhouse, in Hartfordshire, .	100		
248.	John Allen, clerke,	100		
249.	Ann Cheney, of Cree Church, widdow; .	100		
250.	Ralph Tartle, of London, ffishmonger, .	100	75	
251.	William Molins, of London, innkeeper, .	150		
252.	John Marriot, of London, merchant, .	100		
253.	Thomas Marriot, of Wapping, marriner, .	200	100	
254.	Elizabeth Bradshaw, of St. Katherine's widdow,	50		
255.	Thomas Owen, of Saffron Walden,	100		
256.	John Braket, of Syon Colledge,	100		
257.	Peter Stubber, of Catteaton-street,	100		
258.	Thomas Boggeste, of London, turner, .	100	50	
259.	John Hawes, of London, mercer,	100		
260.	Hugh Nettleship, of London, salter, .	150		
261.	Richard Beumont, of Aldermanbury, .	50		
262.	William Babb, of White Chappel,	50		
263.	Edmund Pike, of Wapping,	100		
264.	James ffisher, of Streetham,	25		
265.	Daniel Canting, of London, grocer,	25		
266.	Benjamin King, of flamsted,	25		
267.	Nathaniel Anderson, of Cowley, clerke, .	100		
268.	John Thewel, of Redburne, gent.,	25		
269.	John Catlin, of flamstead,	25		
270.	Thomas House, brownbaker,	50		

		£	£	s.	d.
271.	John Kilby, of Whitamstead, in Hartsfordshire,	. . . . .	50		
272.	Abraham Babington, of London, draper,	. . . . .	100		
273.	Stephen White, of London, grocer,	. . . . .	600		
274.	James Hublon, of London, merchant,	. . . . .	600		
275.	James Hublon, of London, dyer,	. . . . .	50		
276.	Charles Woodward, of Nayland, clother,	. . . . .	100		
277.	Peter Ducane, of London,	. . . . .	200		
278.	John and Benjamin Ducane, of London,	. . . . .	100		
279.	Peter Hublon, of London, dyer,	. . . . .	200		
280.	John Blate, of London, merchant tailor,	. . . . .	100		
281.	Edward Smith, of London, merchant,	. . . . .	100		
282.	Thomas Vincent, of London, leather seller,	. . . . .	300		
283.	John Brett, of London, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	700		
284.	William Beeke, of London, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	300		
285.	George Seignejurall, Lord of y ^e Tower Liberty,	. . . . .	50	37	10
286.	John ffenton, of London,	. . . . .	100		
287.	Godfrey Reene, of London,	. . . . .	100		
288.	Henry Coles,	. . . . .	50		
289.	Stephen Archebold,	. . . . .	50		
290.	Edward Litmaker,	. . . . .	100		
291.	William Seale,	. . . . .	25		
292.	George Gregson,	. . . . .	50		
293.	Nicholas Gregson, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	100		
294.	William Blackborrow, leather seller,	. . . . .	50		
295.	Thomas Irens, of London,	. . . . .	60		
296.	Richard Irens, of London,	. . . . .	25		
297.	Christopher Nicholson, ffishmonger,	. . . . .	25		
298.	John Lee, saddler,	. . . . .	100		
299.	Richard Newton, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	300		
300.	Richard Dawes, pewterer,	. . . . .	300		
301.	Owen Jones, pewterer,	. . . . .	100		
302.	William Sherlock,	. . . . .	100		
303.	Joseph Biggs, clerke,	. . . . .	50		

		£	£	s.	d.
304.	Edward and Thomas fletcher,	. . . .	100		
305.	Henry Davenport, woodmonger,	. . . .	25		
306.	John Stephenson, of London, blacksmith,	. . . .	50		
307.	John Reynolds, blacksmith,	. . . .	25		
308.	S ^r John ffarwell, of Hogsdon, knt.,	. . . .	100		
309.	William Underwood, of London, grocer,	. . . .	300		
310.	Richard Rogers, of London, grocer,	. . . .	100		
311.	James Hayes, of London, grocer,	. . . .	100		
312.	Thomas Cocke, of London, salter,	. . . .	200		
313.	John Mastall, of London, haberdasher,	. . . .	100		
314.	Richard Clutterbucke, of London, mercer,	. . . .	700		
315.	Thomas Prince, of London, clothworker,	. . . .	25		
316.	Peter Prince, of London, tallow chandler,	. . . .	25		
317.	Richard Vernon, of London, pewterer,	. . . .	100		
318.	Thomas Chewning, of London, skinner,	. . . .	100		
319.	William Ridgeo, of ——, skinner,	. . . .	120		
320.	John fletcher, of London, upholsterer,	. . . .	120	110	
321.	John Turlington, of London, spectacle maker,	. . . . .	120		
322.	Richard Castle, of London,	. . . .	120		
323.	ffrancis Scott, of London,	. . . .	120		
324.	ffrancis Parsons, of London, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	40		
325.	Roger Stackhouse,	. . . . .	20		
326.	Samuel Elliot, of London, grocer,	. . . .	200		
327.	Thomas Hodges, of London,	. . . .	600		
328.	Thomas Stone, of London, haberdasher,	. . . .	300		
329.	James fletcher, in the Old Jewry,	. . . .	200		
330.	John Hatt, of London, gent.,	. . . .	300		
331.	Samuel Warner, grocer, and William Thompson, salter,	. . . . .	600		
332.	William Peymoyer, clothworker,	. . . .	600	150	
	[333 Omitted in the original.]				
334.	Richard Loton, of London, brewer,	. . . .	100		
335.	Maurice and George Thompson,	. . . .	700		

		£	£	s.	d.
336.	Richard Mountney, of London, mercer,	150			
337.	Alexander Gill, late of Lorgan, in Ard-				
	magh,	25			6
338.	Jeremiah Hearne, of Hunsden,	200			
339.	Henry Hastings, of Kingston, Esq.,	100			
340.	Jasper Davis, of London, turner,	150			
341.	Stephen Offley, of London, merchant,	100			50
342.	Thomas Woodcocke, of London, grocer,	100			
343.	Thomas Mills, of London, skinner,	100			50
344.	John Lake, of London, skinner,	200			
345.	Robert Kirkam, of London, bowyer,	50			
346.	Robert Beard, of Thaydon Garnon, tanner,	200			
347.	John Steele, of London, salter,	50			
348.	Thomas Stratton, of London, merchant taylor,	50			37 10
349.	Joan Matthew, widdow,	100			
350.	William Graves, blacksmith,	100			
351.	James Blatt, London, draper,	100			
352.	John Ames, of London, draper,	50			
353.	Edmund Blatt, of London,	50			
354.	Stafford Clare, of London, wax chandler,	50			
355.	John Goodwin, paster, of Coleman-street,	100			
356.	Mark Hildesley, of Coleman-street,	100			
357.	Christopher Nicholson, of Coleman-street,	100			
358.	George Dover, of Coleman-street, pothecary,	100			
359.	Thomas Lamb, of London, leather seller,	100			50
360.	An Tutty, of Coleman-street,	100			
361.	William Tilsley, of Blackfryers,	100			
362.	Richard Ashurst, of London, draper,	100			
363.	Francis Finch, of London, cloth worker,	100			
364.	Thomas Snow, of Cripple-gate Without,	100			
365.	Symon Smith, of London, tallow chandler,	100			
366.	Henry Procter of London, weaver,	100			
367.	William Levitt, of London, woodmonger,	50			25
368.	Henry Overton of London, stationer,	25			

		£	s.	d.
369.	Joseph Sibley, of London, tallow chandler,	25		
370.	Nicholas Haward, of London, grocer,	50		
371.	John Wheatley, of London, scrivener,	25		
372.	John Panter, of London, merchant taylor,	50		
373.	Richard Broomer, of London, larymer,	25		
374.	Richard Beighton, of London, sadler,	50		
375.	John Hinde, of London, merchant taylor,	25		
376.	Nathaniel Grannow, of London, merchant taylor,	25		
377.	Ambrose Coombs,	25		
378.	Richard Richardson, of London, tallow chandler,	25		
379.	Richard Lucas, of London, plasterer,	50		
380.	William Mountagne, London, baker,	25		
381.	James Bendigo, of London, merchant taylor,	25		
382.	George Sadler, of London, merchant taylor,	25		
383.	Moyses Jenkins, of Coleman-street,	100		
384.	George Thompson, stationer,	700		
385.	John Martin, of Guildford, and compartners,	250		
386.	William Webster, of London, merchant, and compartners,	300		
387.	George Snell, of London, stationer,	200		
388.	Richard Lloyd, of London, girdler,	300		
389.	John Dodd, of London, salter,	200		
390.	William Bisby, of London,	100		
391.	George Warren, of London, draper,	100		
392.	George Thoroughgood, of Horne Church, Esq.,	600	150	
393.	William Ballard, of Horne Church,	200		
394.	Thomas Rogers, of Horne Church,	25		
395.	George Browne, of Horne Church,	25		
396.	John Banks, of London, gent.,	100		
397.	Charles Doyley, of London, tallow chandler,	100		
398.	Nathaniel and Thomas Weeks,	100		

		£	\$	s.	d.
399.	John Rothwell, bookseller,	. . . . .	50		
400.	Robert Barrett,	. . . . .	50		
401.	Luke ffawne, bookseller,	. . . . .	50		
402.	William Boulton,	. . . . .	100		
403.	James Clerke,	. . . . .	100	50	0 0
404.	Anthony Dowse,	. . . . .	50		
405.	Daniel Elderby,	. . . . .	50		
406.	Robert Childe,	. . . . .	50		
407.	Christopher Whitekett,	. . . . .	100		
408.	Robert Maltas, of Reading, clothier,	. . . . .	120		
409.	Abraham Ottyer, of London,	. . . . .	600		
410.	Arthur Juxton, of London, salter,	. . . . .	200		
411.	John Juxton, gent.,	. . . . .	200		
412.	Thomas Juxton, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	200		
413.	Mathew Biggs, gent.,	. . . . .	200		
414.	Tempest Miller, of London, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	200		
X 415.	Samuel Turner, of London, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	200		
416.	Maurice Gitting, of London, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	100		
417.	William Wagstaffe, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	100		
418.	Henry Ashurst, of London, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	50		
419.	Barnabas Meare, of London, draper,	. . . . .	100		
420.	Richard Allot, of London, haberdasher,	. . . . .	50		
X 421.	Richard Turner, Senior and Junior, mer- chant taylors,	. . . . .	200		
422.	Thomas Alcocke, of London, haberdasher,	. . . . .	300		
423.	John Ballard, of London, skinner,	. . . . .	200		
424.	Roger Lambert,	. . . . .	100		
425.	Ralph Carter,	. . . . .	100	25	0 0
426.	Thomas Randall,	. . . . .	50	12	10 0
427.	Miles Biggs,	. . . . .	50		
428.	Isaacke Gould, of London, draper,	. . . . .	100		
429.	John Jurin, of London, dyer,	. . . . .	300		
430.	Isaacke Jurin, of London, weaver,	. . . . .	100		
431.	Abraham Jurin, of London, weaver,	. . . . .	100		

		£	s	d
432.	John Lordell, of London, grocer,	100		
433.	Richard Shingler, of London, draper,	100		
434.	Robert Dringe,	100		
435.	John Hodilow, chirurgeon,	25		
436.	Richard Hodilow,	25		
437.	Richard Shute, of London, merchant,	200		
438.	Thomas Davey, of Beckley, in Sussex,	600		
439.	William Ball, of London, clothworker,	200		
440.	Abraham Deskeene, of London, weaver,	200		
441.	Jeoffry Thomas, of London, merchant taylor,	200		
442.	John Stipe, throwster,	100		
443.	Daniel Dupree, of London, merchant,	300		
444.	Everard Boulton, barber chirurgeon,	100	25	0
445.	Robert Lewillin, of London, salter,	100	25	0
446.	Henry Boyce, of London, tallow chandler,	100		
447.	John Rayment, of London, white baker,	300		
448.	John Pallin, of London, white baker,	300		
449.	Alexander Partridge, of London, ffarrier,	80		
450.	Robert Joseph, of Dartford, in Kent,	50		
451.	John Daves, of London, chandler,	50	6	5
452.	John Tabor, of London, goldsmith,	50		
453.	John Kendrick, of London, grocer,	700		
454.	Richard Darnely, of London, haberdasher,	100		
455.	John Suellung, of London, pewterer,	200	100	0
456.	Edward Keddermiester, of London, gent.,	100		
457.	Thomas Barwicke, of London, grocer,	100		
458.	Thomas Waters, of London, cordwayner,	100		
459.	John Jeffryes, of London, grocer,	100		
460.	George Hudson, of London, haberdasher,	100		
461.	Nathaniel Humphreys, of London, ironmonger,	100		
462.	Arthur Turner, Serjeant at Law,	200		
463.	Silvester Dennis, of London, dyer,	160		
464.	Edward Cooke, of London, apothecary,	675		

		£	\$	s.	d.
465.	George Witham, of London, leather seller,	300			
466.	John Hurste, of London, cooke,	300			
467.	Alexander Jones and Robert Meode, merchant taylors,	675			
468.	John Smith, of Wooll Church,	50			
469.	Thomas ffoote, of London,	600			
470.	Samuel Langham, of London,	600			
471.	Thomas Morton, of Craydon, in Surrey,	200			
472.	Anthony Dringe, of London, merchant taylor,	100			
473.	Nathaniel Mickletwait, fishmonger,	25			
474.	William Tutty, of London, clerke,	25			
475.	John Sturdy, of London, merchant taylor,	25			
476.	John King and ffrancis Whitston, of London,	100			
477.	Rose Underwood and William Skrenshaw,	100			
478.	William Allen, of London, vintner,	200			
479.	John Hunter, of London,	100			
480.	John y ^e sonne of Thomas Corke, saltier,	100			
481.	Richard Wilson, grocer,	100			
482.	Edward Underwood, grocer,	100			
483.	Mathias Button,	200			
484.	Christopher Merideth,	200			
485.	Nicholas Guy,	200			
486.	Henry Colbron and Thomas Davis,	75			
487.	Richard Warring, grocer,	200	50	0	0
488.	Thomas Turgia, grocer,	200	50	0	0
489.	Robert Richard Smith, of London,	200			
490.	John Ashley, of London, ffishmonger,	100			
491.	Henry Graant, of London, draper,	60			
492.	Thomas ffreeman,	200			
493.	Thomas Lenthal,	200			
494.	James Clerke,	200			
495.	Thomas Stocke, of London,	200			
496.	George Parker, of London,	200			
497.	Sarah Parker, of London,	200			

		£	s	d
498.	Michael Babington, of London, gent.,	. .	200	
499.	Edward Overing, of London, salter,	. .	20	
500.	Joseph Brand, of London, salter,	. .	200	
501.	Thomas Pate, of London, cutler,	. .	200	
502.	Raph Triplett, of London, stationer,	. .	300	
503.	William Barton,	. . . . .	300	
504.	Thomas Brightwell, of London, bow-	. . . . .	£233 6s. 8d.	
505.	Thomas Hussey, of London, grocer,	£233 6s. 8d.		
506.	John Lane, of London,	. .	£233 6s. 8d.	
507.	Mathew and Thomas Younge, of London, brewers,	. . . . .	100	
508.	Cornelius Burgess, D'. of Divinity,	. .	700	
509.	William Jenny,	. . . . .	200	
510.	Perry Grine Pritty,	. . . . .	200	
511.	Chropher Jenny, and Partner,	. .	200	
512.	Joseph Linge,	. . . . .	100	
513.	Giles Townesend,	. . . . .	200	
514.	Edward Carter, confectioner,	. .	200	
515.	William Lorring, goldsmith,	. .	200	
516.	Nathaniel Hall, of London, skinner,	. .	100	
517.	George South,	. . . . .	50	
518.	Thomas Bewley, Sen', draper,	. .	100	
519.	Thomas Bewley, Jun', of London,	. .	100	
520.	William Bewley,	. . . . .	100	
521.	John Blackwell, Sen', and compartners, of London,	. . . . .	1000 500 0 0	
522.	Henry Liffkens, of London, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	50 27 10 0	
523.	Thomas Walmsley, of Great Kimble, in Bucks,	. . . . .	100	
524.	Michael Spenser, of Attercliffe, in York, gent.,	. . . . .	600 150 0 0	
525.	William Sheppy, of Gravell Lane,	. .	200	
526.	John Strange, of London, merchant taylor,	. .	300	

		£	s	d.
527.	Giles Dent, of London, salter,	200		
528.	Maximilian Beard, of London, girdler,	200		
529.	William Viner, of London, joyner,	200		
530.	Christopher Lipplate, of Mareborough,	50		
531.	John Gearing, grocer,	300	75	00
532.	Christopher Bidle, white baker,	25		
533.	Thomas Harris, of London, merchant,	100		
534.	Henry Box, Esq.,	400		
535.	Thomas Herrage, Esq.,	400		
536.	William Ashwell, merchant,	400		
537.	S ^r . Mathew Boynton, of Barmston, Kn ^t . and Bar ^t ,	1000		
538.	Robert Greenwell, servant to Robert New- ton, grocer,	50		
539.	Peter Cole, of Ironmonger Lane,	50		
540.	Henry Hickman, of London, salter,	200		
541.	Richard Hill, of London, cordweyner,	200		
542.	Robert Hayes, of London,	200		
543.	Robert Robins, of London, glover,	300		
544.	Thomas Hutchins, of London, merchant,	400		
545.	Thomas Harris, of London, grocer,	100		
546.	William fletcher,	100		
547.	John Parret,	100		
548.	James Alford, of London, grocer,	50		
549.	Symon Barton, of London, stationer,	50		
550.	John Deathicke, of London, mercer,	200		
551.	Captain Robert Tichburne,	200		
552.	Joseph Barker, of London, skinner,	200		
553.	James Martin, of London, ffishmonger,	600		
554.	Charles Lloyd, of London, draper,	600		
555.	Clement Coxon, of Wapping, taylor,	50		
556.	Joseph and Jonathan Blackwell, of London,	675	468	150
557.	Henry featherton, stationer,	1200		
558.	John Perry, of London, skinner,	50		
559.	William Priaulke, of Sussex, minister,	50		

		£	£	s.	d.
560.	William Harrison, of Staple Inn, gent.,	100			
561.	John Biggs, of Maidstone, gent.,	150			
562.	George Haule, of Maidstone, gent.,	250			
563.	Richard Crispe, of Maidstone, gent.,	600			
564.	Robert Swinnocke, of Maidstone, gent.,	200			
565.	James Smith, of London, salter,	200			
566.	Robert Hales, of Auescott, in Oxfordshire, gent.,	1200			
567.	Abraham and Thomas Chamberlain, of London, merchants,	600			
568.	Hezekiah Woodward, of London, gent.,	200			
569.	George Henly, of London, merchant,	300			
570.	Robert Henley,	300			
571.	John Maynard,	300			
572.	Humphry Browne, of London, girdler, and comparthers,	610	305	0	0
573.	Edmond Peers, of London, grocer,	100			
574.	Ralph Clarcke, of Chesterfield, in the Co. of Derby,	200			
575.	Thomas Bretland, of Chesterfield,	100			
576.	Richard Wood, of Chesterfield,	100			
577.	William Heathcotte, of Chesterfield,	100			
578.	Paul fletcher, of Chesterfield,	100			
579.	James Webster, of Chesterfield,	100			
580.	Richard Walcott, of London, Esq.,	600			
581.	Israel Scarlet, of London, basketmaker,	100			
582.	Joseph Smith, of St. Hellins,	100			
583.	William Leete, of London, cordweyner,	20			
584.	John Parker, of London, haberdasher,	200	50	0	0
585.	Henry Croane,	200			
586.	John Seed,	200			
587.	John Winkly, of London, haberdasher,	40			
589.	Stephen Eastwicke, of London, girdler,	200			
590.	George Miller, of London, stationer, £1 33 6s. 8d.				
591.	Edward Bruster, of London, stationer, £1 33 6s. 8d.				

	£	s	d
592. Richard Thrale, of London, stationer,	£133	6s.	od.
593. Samuel Harte, of London, ironmonger,	. . . . .	150	
594. Sarah Harte, of London,	. . . . .	50	
595. Samuel Ivery, of London, merchant,	. . . . .	300	
596. Robert Lambell, of London, grocer,	. . . . .	200	
597. Gregory Parker, of London, haberdasher,	. . . . .	50	
598. Robert Garnar, of Sleaford, in Lincolnshire,	. . . . .	200	
599. William and Thomas Allen, of London, grocers,	. . . . .	600	
600. S ^r . Henry Row, Kn ^t , and Thomas Man, Esq.,	. . . . .	600	
601. George Scott, of London, grocer,	. . . . .	100	
602. Christopher Merricke, of London, merchant,	. . . . .	200	
603. Henry West, of London, marriner,	. . . . .	200	
604. John fowler, of London, clothworker,	. . . . .	200	
605. Hogan Howell, of London, grocer,	. . . . .	200	
606. Theophilus Bidolph, of London, draper,	. . . . .	200	
607. Patrick Bamford, of London, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	100	
608. Peter Mills, of London, bricklayer,	. . . . .	100	
609. Henry Pettit, of London, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	200	
610. Henry Hampson, of London, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	200	
611. Jarvis Blackwell, of London, skinner,	. . . . .	100	
612. George Wright, of London, skinner,	. . . . .	50	
613. William Richardson, of London, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	50	
614. Richard and John Smith, of London, plasters,	. . . . .	20	
615. Robert Holman, of Rendle-hill, in Surrey, gent.,	. . . . .	100	
616. William Hampson, of [] , in Surry,	. . . . .	100	
617. Jeoffry Holman, of [] , in Surry,	. . . . .	100	

	£	s.	d.
618. Francis Cheny, of Chesham Boyes, Esq., .	600		
619. Edward Merideth, of London, merchant taylor,	25		
620. Soloman Sibly, of London, salter,	100		
621. William Rogers, of London,	25		
622. George ffarmer, of y ^e Inner Temple, Esq., .	600		
623. Mrs. Lucie Roch, of Rumford,	50	25	0
624. William ffewster, of Richmond, in Surry, .	100		
625. ffancis Collins, of London, skinner,	100		
626. William Legatt, of London, leather seller, .	100		
627. ffelix Kingston, of London, stationer, .	100		
628. Dame Elizabeth Soame, of Hauden, in Essex,	300		
629. James Baynton, Esq.,	200		
630. Edmond Harrison, embroyderer,	200		
631. William Withar Manny downe, Esq., .	200		
632. Richard Starkey, of Gravesend, gent., .	100	75	0
633. Thomas Harding, of London, white baker, .	200		
634. Giles Harding, of London, white baker, .	200		
635. William Hardening,	100		
636. Alice Harding, of Alenorth,	100		
637. William Barker, of London, merchant, .	200		
638. Thomas Staine, of London, wax chandler, .	100		
639. Robert Seare, of London, pewterer, .	100		
640. Robert Wood, of London, wax chandler, .	25		
641. Arther Loyd, of London, haberdasher, .	100		
642. Richard Porter, of Abbots Langley, Esq., .	200		
643. Edward Hodgson, of London, goldsmith, .	100		
644. Robert Gardner, of London, Esq., .	600	150	0
645. S ^r Thomas Bendish, of Bumstead, in Essex, Bar ^t ,	400		
646. William Dyke, of London, ironmonger, .	100		
647. Stephen Beale, of London, leather seller, .	100		
648. Thomas Rodbeard, of London, ffishmonger and compartners,	100		

		£	s	d
649.	Robert Elie, of London, mercer,	100		
650.	Elisha Rovins, of London, mercer,	100		
651.	William Wade, London, merchant,	600		
652.	Ellis Good, of White Chappell,	100		
653.	Nathaniel King, of Dunstans, in y ^e West,	50		
654.	ffrancis Pecke, of Guilford, minister,	25		
655.	William Hill, of Guilford,	25		
656.	ffrancis Webb, of London, dyer,	50	12	10
657.	D ^r . Samuel Read, of Birch Hanger,	50	12	10
658.	Mrs. Tendring, of Bishops Stratford,	100	25	0
659.	Samuel Cooper, of London, ffishmonger,	25		
660.	John Lucas, of Lynn, merchant,	25		
661.	Thomas Gouge, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's,	600		
662.	Nicholas Stoughton, of Stoughton, Esq., and compartners,	600		
663.	William Rathband, Sen ^r . and Jun ^r . of Cole- man street,	100		
664.	John Jones, of London, merchant taylor,	200		
665.	Thomas Waterhouse, of London, ffish- monger,	100		
666.	Thomas Ayres, of London, gent., and com- partners,	200		
667.	Edward Gittings, of London, paper stayner,	100		
668.	Jonathan Goodard, phisitian,	100		
669.	Humphrey Chaveny, of y ^e Chappell of y ^e Rolls,	100		
670.	Henry Scobell, of Symons Inn, gent.,	200		
671.	Henry Gulson, paynter steyner,	100		
672.	William Willoughby, of Wapping-wall,	150		
673.	William Ball, of Lincoln's Inn, gent.,	250		
674.	Richard Graves, of Lincoln's Inn, gent.,	200		
675.	John Claydon, of Sheere-lane, gent.,	200		
676.	ffrancis Allen, of ffleet-street, goldsmith,	200		
677.	John Branckstead, of London, goldsmith,	100		
678.	Mary Shakespeare, of y ^e Strand, widdow,	110		

	£	s	d
679. Christopher Towse, of y ^e Strand, white baker,	100		
680. William Grantham,	50		
681. Thomas Webster,	50		
682. Nathaniel Witham, of Whitefryers, white baker,	100		
683. John Coleman, of London, haberdasher, . .	100		
684. Thomas Cooke, London, goldsmith, . . .	300		
685. Edward East, of London, goldsmith, . . .	100		
686. John Biskoe, of Westminster, apothecary,	100		
687. William Hoare, of St. Martins in y ^e ffields, gent.,	25		
688. Nicholas Bone, of Whitehall, gent., . . .	100		
689. Anthony Morgan, of London, linen draper,	200		
690. Robert Barefoot, of London, leather seller,	25		
691. William Hobson, of London, haber- dasher,	100		
692. Richard Lacy, of London, haberdasher, . .	100		
693. William White, of London, haberdasher, . .	50		
694. Capt. Nathaniel Camphield,	100		
695. Benjamin Potter, of London, sadler, . . .	50		
696. James Cox, of London, merchant taylor, . .	50		
697. John Eaton, of London, merchant taylor, . .	50		
698. Edmond Sheafe, of London, mercer, . . .	100		
699. John Bateman, minister of Okenham, . . .	50		
700. William Nutkins, of Okenham,	50		
701. Michael Marlow, of Okenham,	50		
702. Angelo Bell, of Okenham,	50		
703. Mathew Simpson, of Okenham, gent., . . .	50		
704. William Betsworth, of Sussex, blacksmith,	50		
705. William Greenhill, of Stepney,	100		
706. William Page, apothecary,	100		
707. George Austin, merchant,	600		
708. Throgmorton Trotman, of London, mer- chant,	200		

		£	\$	s.	d.
709.	William Hawkins, of London, merchant,	259			
710.	James Bynce, of London,	600			
711.	Richard Browne, of London, woodmonger,	600			
712.	M ^r . Dorothy Moore, of Dublin, in Ireland,	300	150	0	0
713.	John Honnor, of St. Martins in the fields,	600			
714.	John Bromwich, of London, armourer,	100			
715.	Thomas and William Rainsborough, mer- chants,	200			
716.	Samuel Stone, of London, brewer,	50			
717.	Thomas Bancks, of Staple Inn, gent.,	100			
718.	Phillip Diline, of Canterbury, clerke,	200			
719.	ffrancis West, sen ^r , of London, grocer,	200			
720.	John Terrill, of London,	200			
721.	George Hughes, Minister,	100			
722.	Stephen Sedgewicke, of London,	100			
723.	William Perket, of Bredgate,	200			
724.	Margret Eldersey, of Bredgate,	60			
725.	Thomas Hampton, of Taplow, in Bucks, Esq.,	600			
726.	William Webster, of Peckam, in Surry,	100			
727.	Robert Haughton, of Southwarke,	100			
728.	Thomas Nethuish, of London, ffactor,	100			
729.	Roger Clay, of London, ffactor,	100			
730.	William Gunston, of London, ffactor,	100			
731.	Lawrence Sanders, of London, ffactor,	100			
732.	Barnard Trimlett, of London, ffactor,	100			
733.	Giles Sumpter, of London, ffactor,	100			
734.	Samuel Eames, of Lothbury, London,	100			
735.	Thomas Ligh, of Twerton, in Devon,	100			
736.	Joseph Godfrey, of London,	50	25	0	0
737.	William Pitcher, of London, draper,	100			
738.	Thomas Meade, of London, merchant taylor,	600			
739.	Jeremiah Hearne, of Hunsden,	100			
740.	Thomas Briggs, of London, merchant taylor,	100			
741.	Richard Quiny, of London, grocer,	100			
742.	John Sadler,	100			

		£	\$	s	d.
743.	George Plucknett,	100			
744.	Henry Harwell, haberdasher,	100			
745.	Benjamin Banister, apothecary,	100			
746.	William Hubbard, merchant taylor,	100			
747.	Richard Chandler, haberdasher,	100			
748.	Godfrey Hall, and compartners;	100			
749.	John Owen, of London, grocer,	200			
750.	Stephen Pheazant, of Gray's Inn, gent.,	200			
751.	John Browne, of London, leather seller,	100			
752.	Nicholas Williams, of London, haberdasher,	100			
753.	Edmond Lewin, merchant taylor,	400			
754.	Daniel Lewin, of Hartfordshire,	200			
755.	William Officiall, of Great Yarmouth,	600			
756.	Daniel Waldo, of London, clothworker, and alo',	600			
757.	William Goddard, D ^r . of Physicke,	100			
758.	John Merricke, of London, gent,	100			
759.	John Tym, of London, goldsmith,	100			
760.	Thomas Hatton, of y ^e Six Clerks Office,	20	10	0	0
761.	John Whiteing, of Hadley, in Suffolk,	100			
762.	William Lambert, of Coulston, in Surry, yeoman,	100			
763.	Thomas Brouker, of Newenham, gent,	200			
764.	Peter Langley, of New Inn, gent.,	200			
765.	Edward Henson, of London, gent.,	50			
766.	William Peake, of London, clothworker,	100			
767.	Richard and Alex. Venner, of London,	150			
768.	Peter Delany, of London, dyer,	100			
769.	Richard Cox, of London, merchant taylor,	50			
770.	Thómas Kentish, of Abbots Langley,	200			
771.	George Pryer, of Bartholomew p Exchange,	675			
772.	Anthony Rosswell, and compartners, of Freshford,	150			
773.	Edward Mitchell,	25			
774.	John King, of Harlow, in Essex,	75			

		£	s	d.
775.	John Savill,	75		
776.	William Thompson, of [],	50		
777.	John Speller,	50		
778.	Josiae Tunbridge,	100		
779.	John ffeilde,	50		
780.	Edward Savill,	50		
781.	Thomas Lyon,	50		
782.	William Sumner,	50		
783.	John Gardner,	50		
784.	John Lee, of London,	25		
785.	Thomas Phillips, of London, clothworker,	40		
786.	Anthony Springer, of Clements Danes,	200		
787.	Edward Parker,	100		
788.	William Jesson,	100		
789.	Leonard Tillett,	100		
790.	Arthur Crew, of London,	100		
791.	William Boggest, of London, gent.,	50		
792.	Gilbert Lambell,	125		
793.	Devereux Palmer, in Northamptonshire, Esq.,	310		
794.	Anthony and John Wagstaffe, of Harland,	100		
795.	Grace Heathcocke, of Cuthorp, widow,	58		
796.	Ellen Wagstaffe, of Swathwicke,	50		
797.	Edm ^d . Wagstaffe, of Cullow;	40		
798.	Michael Ashton,	20		
799.	William ffrench, of Emanuel Colledge,	50		
800.	George Starr, of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire,	150		
801.	William Allen, of Ditchett,	50		
802.	Richard Vinston, of London, grocer,	100		
803.	James Story, of London,	50	25	0
804.	Thomas Browne, of London,	100	50	0
805.	Samuel Harnett, of London,	50	25	0
806.	John Steming, of London, leather seller,	100		
807.	Edward Story, of London, ironmonger,	50		
808.	Thomas Row, of London, girdler,	50		
809.	Samuel Beardolph, of London, merchant taylor,	100		

		£	s	d
810.	William Beale,	£186	15s.	
811.	Richard Allen, of London, grocer,	50		
812.	Richard Litler, of London, apothecary,	50		
813.	Serjt.-Major Wagstaffe, of Harbury,	25		
814.	Edward Wood, and compartners,	175	174	2 6
815.	William Loupe, of W. Minster, chirurgeon,	100		
816.	Joshua Woolnough, of London, merchant taylor,	25		
817.	Peter Hudson, of London, upholsterer,	50	25	0 0
818.	Mark Bradley, of London, scrivener,	100		
819.	William Cooper,	100		
820.	George Bradley, stationer,	100		
821.	John Harris, of London, girdler,	100		
822.	Thomas Younge, of London, ffactor,	100		
823.	William Turlington, of London, merchant,	100	50	0 0
824.	Philip Skippon, Serjt.-Major Gen ^l .,	200	50	0 0
825.	Richard Hutchinson, of London, iron- monger,	100		
826.	Edward Vaughan, of Cheapside,	200		
827.	Charles Vaughan, of the Co. of Devon, Esq.,	1000		
828.	Joseph Vaughan,	100		
829.	William Vaughan, of London, grocer,	300		
830.	Richard Hunt, of London, skinner,	300		
831.	Edward Aunsley, of London, armorer,	300		
832.	Richard Willett, of London, merchant,	200		
833.	Gabriel Barber, of Hartford, gent.,	200		
834.	Ralph Minor, of Hartford, schoolmaster,	200		
835.	D ^r . Calibutt Downing, of Hackney,	100		
836.	Thomas Jackson, of London, pewterer,	100		
837.	Mathew Draper, of London, merchant,	200	50	0 0
838.	Thomas Wood, of London, merchant taylor,	100	25	0 0
839.	Mathew Andrews, of London, grocer,	100		
840.	Adinram Bryfield,	[]		
841.	Richard Wilcox, haberdasher,	200	50	0 0
842.	Thomas Richards, of London, schoolmaster,	100		

		£	£	s.	s.	d.
843.	William Herring, of London, haberdasher,	400				
844.	John Greensmith,	300				
845.	William Honnywood,	100				
846.	Katherin Smith, of Hackney, widdow,	100				
847.	Symon Ash, of London, clerke,	100				
848.	William Rendall, of London, merchant taylor,	300				
849.	Thomas Player, haberdasher,	200				
850.	Gregory Clement, of London, merchant,	200				
851.	Patient Wallin, of London,	100				
852.	Joseph Murdocke, of London, skinner,	100				
853.	William Methould, of London, merchant,	700				
854.	Abraham Puller, of Hartford, merchant,	200				
855.	John Coulson, of Ayton Magna,	200				
856.	Lawrence Brentley, of London, merchant,	200				
857.	Nicholas Brentley, of Exon,	200				
858.	John Martimere, of Exon,	100				
859.	Thomas Brinley, of St. John's-street, Esq.,	100				
860.	Joseph Carrill, of Lincoln's Inn, minister,	100				
861.	John Jones, of Exon,	100				
862.	Thomas King, of London, carpenter,	100				
863.	Samuel Browne, and compartners,	100				
864.	Roger Lazinley, of London, haberdasher,	100				
865.	Gerrarde Boate, of Holland,	80				
866.	Humphrey Chambers, in Somersetshire, £12 10s.	3	2	6		
867.	Christopher Brewer, of the same,	£12 10s.	3	2	6	
868.	George Paine, of the same,	£12 10s.	3	2	6	
869.	Richard Crow, of the same,	£12 10s.	3	2	6	
870.	The Lady Jane Harrington, of Rand, in Lincolnshire,	100	50	0	0	
871.	Henry Smith, of London, glover,	100				
872.	John Keynes, of Marlboro',	80				
873.	James Harrington, of Rand, in Lincolnshire,	50	25	0	0	
874.	William Harrington, of y ^e same,	50	25	0	0	
875.	Thomas Baily, of Marlborough,	150				

	£	s	d
876. James Cheswick, and others, of Sheffield,	250		
877. Thomas Towley, of Boston,	250		
878. Robert Trelawney, of Plimouth, merchant,	675		
879. William fisk, of Packerham,	200		
880. John fiske, of Rattlesden,	100		
881. Thomas Lincolne, of Thetford,	100		
882. William Gouch, of Elden,	100		
883. John Grocer, of Westhorpe,	100		
884. John Higgens, of Kingsnode, merchant,	40		
885. Mathew Ash, and compartners, of Chesterfield,	50		
886. Anthony Parker, of Blagden, in Somersetshire,	60		
887. Nicholas Blagne, of Katherines, gent.,	50		
888. Henry Walter, of Rye, in Sussex,	100		
889. Edward Owener, for Great Yarmouth,	600		
890. Mary Ditton, of Westminister, widdow,	100		
891. Roger Mathew, for y ^e Borrow of Dartmouth,	£668 7s. 6d.	2397	15 0
892. Thomas Bright, of Thurston Hall, in Suffolk,	200		
893. Thomas Pury, for y ^e Citty of Gloucester,	1350		
894. Nicholas Isaacke, of Barnstaple, merchant,	100		
895. Joseph Jaques, for his son Ralph Jaques,	300		
896. Michael Measey, of Katherines Coleman,	50		
897. Roger Drake, D ^r of Phisicke,	200		
898. Richard Culline, High Sherriffe of Devon, for certain subscriptions there made,	348	19	2 0
899. Peter S ^r Hill, of Bradninch, in Devon, Esq.,	300		
900. Thomas Ivatt, of Coombe Martin, in Devon, Esq.,	450	337	10 0
901. John Coomb, of Bradninch, in Devon, Esq.,	50	37	10 0
902. S ^r Henry Roswell, Kn ^t , in Devon,	200		

		£	£	s.	d.
903.	Thomas Hudson, of London, skinner,	. 100			
904.	Cornelius Cooke, vintner, . . .	. 100			
905.	John Morris, wax chandler, . . .	. 100			
906.	George Snelling, merchant, . . .	. 200	100	0	0
907.	Thomas ffarthing, cordweyner, . . .	. 50			
908.	Edward or Edmund Austin, ffeltmaker, .	. 100			
	[909 omitted in the original.]				
910.	Thomas Brocket, pewterer, . . .	. 50			
911.	John Carpenter, . . .	. 50			
912.	George ffissenden, merchant, . . .	. 50			
913.	Christopher Gibbs, clothworker, . . .	. 50			
914.	Gamaliel Voice, brewer, . . .	. 50			
915.	Henry Hawkes, of London, tallow chandler,	. 50			
916.	John Sandon, of London, cordweyner,	. 50			
917.	William Smiter, . . .	. 25			
918.	Samuel Wilkin, tallow chandler, . . .	. 50			
919.	John Williams, ffeltmaker, . . .	. 50			
920.	John Burlace, gent., . . .	. 100	25	0	0
921.	Leonard Tarrant, tobacconist, . . .	. 50			
922.	Robert Chillingworth, ffeltmaker, . . .	. 50			
923.	John Wildinge, of Olaves, Southwarke,	. 50			
924.	Thomas Bye, tallow chandler, . . .	. 25			
925.	Jeremy Rushley, salter, . . .	. 25			
926.	Robert Pearson, of London, weaver, . . .	. 50			
927.	Robert Terry, draper, . . .	. 50			
928.	Samuel Pinn, carpenter, . . .	. 100			
929.	Richard Higgins, cordweyner, . . .	. 50			
930.	Robert Clerke, apothecary, . . .	. 100			
931.	Samuel Crowther, merchant taylor, . . .	. 100			
932.	William Stedde, ironmonger, . . .	. 50			
933.	William Hiccocke, brewer, . . .	. 100	50	0	0
934.	John Tarlton, brewer, . . .	. 100	50	0	0
935.	George Meggot, pewterer, . . .	. 50	25	0	0
936.	Gabriel Bonvyn, tallow chandler, . . .	. 100			
937.	Elizabeth Tuffenaile, . . .	. 100			

		£.	s.	d.
938.	Elizabeth Morton, of Bermondsey,	. .	50	
939.	Margret King, of Bermondsey,	. .	50	
940.	John Childe, of Olaves, Southwarke,	. .	100	
941.	Thomas Beale, tallow chandler,	. .	100	
942.	William Sheppard, grocer,	. .	50	
943.	John Humphreys, of London, imbroyderer,	. .	50	
944.	Joseph Collyer, grocer,	. .	50	
945.	Thomas Babington, haberdasher,	. .	100	
946.	George Ewer, ffishmonger,	. .	50	
947.	Nicholas Norton, clothworkers, and com- partners,	. . . .	300	
948.	Charles ffox, leather seller,	. .	50	
949.	Overrington Blunsdon, whitster,	. .	50	
950.	Daniel Mercer, dyer,	. .	200	
951.	William Hobson, grocer,	. .	50	
952.	William Watson, apothecary,	. .	50	
953.	Thomas Cacott, of Darking,	. .	50	
954.	Thomas Maberly, haberdasher,	. .	50	
955.	Samuel Hyland, distiller,	. £50	12s.	10d.
956.	John Bird, wool comber,	. .	10	
957.	Christopher Searle, dyer,	. .	60	
958.	Henry Standish, cordweyner,	. .	50	
959.	Nathaniel Hardy, of Southwarke,	. .	50	
960.	John Nobbs, of Southwarke,	. .	50	
961.	John Reade, carpenter,	. .	50	
962.	Henry White, of Southwarke,	. .	50	
963.	Tobias Randolph, Master of Ratcliffe Schoole,	100	75	0
964.	William Heather, of Darkeing,	. .	50	
965.	John Knight, of Southwarke, cordweyner,	. .	10	
966.	Thomas Springett, of Lewis, in Sussex,	. .	200	
967.	Richard Barnard, of Lewis, in Sussex, draper,	. .	200	
968.	John Russell, of Lewis, yeoman,	. .	250	
969.	Thomas Ballard, of Cuckfeild, in Sussex,	. .	25	
970.	William Loue, of Lewis, in Sussex,	. .	600	
971.	John Reynold, of Lewis, brasier,	. .	12	
972.	Mascal Giles, of Dutcheling, in Sussex,	. .	50	

		£	£	s.	d.
973.	Nathaniel Bourcher, of Ingleton, Sussex,	16	4	0	0
974.	Charles Hopping, of Exon, ffuller,	100			
975.	John White, of Exon, merchant,	200			
976.	John Seager, of Broadcliste,	100			
977.	Thomas Coomb, of Broadcliste,	20			
978.	William Musgrave, of Broadcliste,	20			
979.	Philip Musgrave, of Broadcliste,	20			
980.	Christabell Stone, of Exon,	100			
981.	Toby Allenn, of Exon, merchant,	80			
982.	Thomas Macomber, of Exon, ironmonger,	50			
983.	Nicholas Vaughan, of Exon, gent.,	100			
984.	Bernard Starr, of Exon, upholsterer,	100			
985.	John Goswell, of Exon, barber,	50			
986.	George Yard, of Thomas' Parish, in Devon,	50			
987.	James Marshall, of Exon, merchant,	200			
988.	Thomas Parris, of Exon, merchant,	50			
989.	Edward Anthony, of Exon, goldsmith,	100			
990.	James White, of Exon, merchant,	200			
991.	Philip Crossing, of Exon, merchant,	100			
992.	Christopher Clerke, Jun ^r , of Exon, merchant,	100			
993.	Edmond Snytall, of Exon, silk weaver,	50			
994.	John Seager, of Broadcliste, clerke,	50			
995.	Nicholas Carwithen and George Mary, of Exon,	200	150	0	0
996.	John Levering, of Exon, merchant,	100			
997.	Richard Mayne, of Exon,	100			
998.	Robert Hoare, of Broadcliste, yeoman,	50			
999.	Giles Moore, of Broadcliste, yeoman,	25			
1000.	John Sowden, of Broadcliste, yeoman,	25			
1001.	Peter Ratcliffe, of Broadcliste, yeoman,	25			
1002.	John Vye, of Axmouth, yeoman,	200			
1003.	Henry Parsons, of Culleton, mercer,	200			
1004.	Robert Searle, of Honnyton, in Devon, and partner,	80			

		£	£	s.	d.
1005.	William Searle, of Honnyton,	. . . . .	20		
1006.	Richard Clapp, of Sudbury, yeoman,	. . . . .	200		
1007.	Richard White, Sen ^r ., of Axminster, merchant,	. . . . .	400		
1008.	S ^r John Poole, of Shute, in Devon,	. . . . .	103		
1009.	James Tucker, Sen ^r ., of Axminster, merchant,	. . . . .	300		
1010.	Samuel Clerke, of Exon, merchant,	. . . . .	100		
1011.	John Searle, of Sudbury, Clerke,	. . . . .	20		
1012.	Thomas Pearce, Sen ^r ., of Sudbury,	. . . . .	30		
1013.	Thomas Pearce, Jun ^r ., of Sudbury,	. . . . .	30		
1014.	Henry Parsons, of Shute, in Devon,	. . . . .	100		
1015.	John Pay, of Shute, in Devon, yeoman,	. . . . .	100		
1016.	Thomas Matthew, of Barnstaple,	. . . . .	100		
1017.	William Nettle, of Barnestaple,	. . . . .	100		
1018.	Richard Evans, of Exon,	. . . . .	200		
1019.	Perryam Poole, of Talliton, in Devon, gent.,	. . . . .	200		
1020.	James Gould, of Exon, merchant,	. . . . .	200		
1021.	Nicholas Breakeing, of Exon,	. . . . .	200		
1022.	Richard Sweete, of Exon,	. . . . .	200		
1023.	Richard Mallock, of Axminster,	. . . . .	100		
1024.	Robert ffowler, of Axminster,	. . . . .	60		
1025.	Amuel Harte, of Axminster, mercer,	. . . . .	20		
1026.	Christopher Knight, of Axminster, taylor,	. . . . .	10		
1027.	Daniel ffolliet, of Axminster,	. . . . .	10		
1028.	Ellis Read, of Axminster,	. . . . .	10		
1029.	Henry Henly, Esq. in Devon,	. . . . .	100		
1030.	Lidiagh Jordan, of Exon,	. . . . .	50		
1031.	John Pitt, of Line Regis, merchant,	. . . . .	100		
1032.	Peter Ticknee, of Cullaton, in Devon,	. . . . .	50		
1033.	William Nosworthy, of Exon, clerke,	. . . . .	50		
1034.	The Mayor, Bailiffs, and Comnalty of Exon,	. . . . .	£9890	108.	
1035.	John Burlace, of Buckinghamshire,	. . . . .	200	50	0

		£	s	d
1036.	Robert Whitehall, minister, of Addington in Bucks,	100		
1037.	S ^r John Hobbert, Barr ^t , in y ^e county of Norff,	600		
1038.	George Price, High Sheriff of Surry, for several subscriptions there made,	225		
1039.	George Garth, of Morden, in Surry,	100	25	0
1040.	Anthony ffane, of Kingston, in Surry,	100	25	0
1041.	Elizabeth Evillin, of Kingston, in Surry,	100		
1042.	Ann Cannockt, of Kingston, in Surry,	50	25	0
1043.	Elizabeth Dingley, of Kingston, in Surry,	60		
1044.	D ^r Edmond Staunton, the Vicar of Kings- ton, in Surry,	100		
1045.	Obadiagh Weeks, of Kingston, in Surry,	100	75	0
1046.	Heretage Hartford, Minister of Thames Ditton, in Surry,	25	18	5
1047.	James Knowles, of Kingston, in Surry,	20	6	5
1048.	John Bond, of Kingston, in Surry,	20	5	0
1049.	John Redferne, of Kingston, in Surry,	30	7	10
1050.	James Levit, of Kingston, in Surry,	20	5	0
1051.	John Childe, of Kingston, in Surry,	20	5	0
1052.	Robert Massey, of Kingston, in Surry,	40	20	0
1053.	Joshua Sturmy, of Kingston, in Surry,	20	15	0
1054.	Sarah Best, widdow, in Surry,	20	15	0
1055.	Ephraim Smith, of Kingston, in Surry,	10		
1056.	Mary Baker, of ffeversham, widdow,	10		
1057.	Grace Tiffen, of Kingston, in Surry,	100	75	0
1058.	Robert Thomas, of Kingston, in Surry,	50		
1059.	Robert Wood, of Kingston, in Surry, gent.,	200		
1060.	Thomas Stint, in Surry, gent., of Kings- ton,	10	2	10
1061.	Shadracke Brice, of East Moulsey,	100		
1062.	John Evans, phisitian,	50		
1063.	Ephraim Bishopp, of Kingston, in Surry,	20	15	0
1064.	William Knightley, of Kingston, in Surry,	50	10	0

	£	£	s	d
1065. Thomas Tipping, Esq., High Sheriff of Exon,	200			
1066. Edward Taylor, of William Scott, in Oxford,	200			
1067. Joseph Gastrell, Minister of Tettsworth,	15	7	1	0
1068. Vincent Barg, of Thame, Esq.,	20			
1069. John Parker, of Tettsworth,	25	12	10	0
1070. John Woodhead, of Hallifax,	220			
1071. S ^r Edward Scott, Kn ^t . of y ^e Bath, of Smeath, in Kent,	200			
1072. Robert Scot, Esq., of y ^e same,	200			
1073. Thomas Westrow, of Marsham, in Kent,	300			
1074. S ^r Thomas Payton, Barr ^t . of Knolton, in Kent,	800			
1075. S ^r William Armine, of Orton Longevill, Barr ^t ,	400			
1076. Mathew Wells, of y ^e same, and compartners, or Wolter,	250			
1077. William Wymer, of y ^e city of Norwich,	100			
1078. Thomas Johnson, of y ^e city of Norwich,	150			
1079. John Knight, of y ^e city of Norwich,	150			
1080. William Davy, of y ^e city of Norwich,	150			
1081. John Toft, of y ^e city of Norwich,	50			
1082. Daniel Dover, Sen ^r , of y ^e city of Nor- wich,	200			
1083. Peter Hazleburst, of y ^e city of Norwich,	50			
1084. Edmond Spring, of y ^e city of Norwich,	50			
1085. Daniel Dover, Jun ^r , of y ^e city of Nor- wich,	50			
1086. S ^r Roger Smith, Kn ^t ., of Leicestershire,	300			
1087. Henry Smith, of Leicestershire,	200			
1088. William Sheares, of Leicestershire,	300			
1089. John Temple, of ffranckton, Esq., in War- wickshire,	200			

	£	£	s.	d.
1090. John Bridges, of Edson, in Warwickshire, gent.,	50	25	0	0
1091. Samuel Clerke, Rector of Alcester, in Warwickshire,	50	25	0	0
1092. ffoulke Bellers, Rector of Arrow, in War- wickshire,	50	25	0	0
1093. Robert Wilcox, of Brandon, in Warwick- shire,	50	23	0	0
1094. John Emes, Jun ^r ., of Alcester, in War- wickshire,	50	25	0	0
1095. John Johnson, of Alcester, in Warwick- shire,	50	25	0	0
1096. Richard Garnall, of Alcester, in Warwick- shire,	50	25	0	0
1097. Humphrey Rogers, of Bretingham, . . .	50	25	0	0
1098. Ralph Ashton, of Middleton, in Lanca- shire, Esq.,	400			
1099. Thomas Birch, of Birch, gent., in Lincoln- shire,	200			
1100. Humphrey Macworth, of y ^e Sutton, in y ^e city of Salop, for himself and others, . . .	1900			
1101. S ^r Francis Popham, of Hunsted, Kn ^t , in Somersetshire,	1000			
1102. John Harrington, of Kelston, in Somer- setshire, Esq.,	50	37	10	0
1103. John Buckland, of Westharptree, . . .	50	37	10	0
1104. John Stoker, in Sumersetshire, gent., . .	50	12	10	0
1105. Thomas Hippesley, of Somersetshire, . .	100	25	0	0
1106. John and Thomas Curtis, of Eastharptree,	40	30	0	0
1107. Richard Hippesley, of Sumersetshire, . .	25	6	5	0
1108. Edward Hippesley, of y ^e same, . . .	25	6	5	0
1109. ffrancisffoard, of Stoanstaton, in Somerset- shire,	25	6	5	0
1110. James Burgis, of Stantondrew, in Somer- setshire,	10			

		£	\$	s.	d.
1111.	Thomas Munday, of Brislington, in Somersetshire,	10	5	0	0
1112.	William Bassett, of Calverton, Esq.,	300			
1113.	Benjamin Pitts, of Standerweeke,	50			
1114.	John Curle, of fleshford,	50			
1115.	William Longe, of Stratton, Esq.,	50			
1116.	George Stedderman, of Stratton, gent.,	50	25	0	0
1117.	Henry Salmon, of Stratton,	25	12	10	0
1118.	Richard North, of Stratton, in Somersetshire,	10	2	10	0
1119.	John Gay, of Bath Easton,	25	5	0	0
1120.	William Robbins, of Bathwicke,	25			
1121.	Thomas Shute, of Kilmersden,	10	5	0	0
1122.	James Bigg, of Bathford,	15	7	10	0
1123.	John Cornish, of Dunkerton,	15	10	10	0
1124.	Thomas Sibbs, Mayor of Bath, &c., for y ^e s ^d Corporation,	100	25	0	0
1125.	William Atkins, of Chard, clothier,	50	10	10	0
1126.	John Atkins, of Chard, clothier,	50	10	10	0
1127.	John Francis, Coombflory, Esq.,	50	25	0	0
1128.	John Hippesley, of Stoneaston, in Somersetshire,	50	25	0	0
1129.	Ursula Wright, of St. Martins le Grand,	50			
1130.	S ^r Walter Roberts, Kn ^t . and Bar ^t .,	100			
1131.	Anthony Reynolds, of Billingsgate, clerke,	50			
1132.	Francis Thorpe, servant to Major-Gen ^l .				
	Skippon,	10	10	0	0
1133.	Mrs. Mary Barker, Bristol, widdow,	1000			
1134.	Walter Price of Abbot's Langley,	50			
1135.	John King, of Abbots Langley,	50			
1136.	John Elliston, of Gostin thorpe, in Essex,	100			
1137.	Robert Leaver, Jun ^r ., of Manchester, clothier,	200			
1138.	Thomas Harding,	100			
1139.	John Harding,	100			

		£	s.	d.
1140.	Thomas Gallile of [] clothworker,	60		
1141.	William Peacocke, of London, painter steyner,	200		
1142.	Dame Philadelphia Wharton, Dowager, .	200		
1143.	Thomas Hotchkis, parson of Taunton, in Wiltshire,	20		
1144.	William Prestly, of Essendon, in Hartford- shire,	£146	108.	
1145.	Isaack ffoster, of London, grocer,	50		
1146.	Thomas Disney, of Gray's Inn, gent.,	300		
1147.	George Arnold, of London, gent.,	200		
1148.	Edmond Page, Jun ^r , haberdasher,	100		
1149.	Robert Shurtis,	50		
1150.	Edmond Blacke, of London, merchant,	30		
1151.	James Caulier, of London, merchant,	200		
1152.	Edward White, of Tamworth,	50		
1153.	Henry Whittingham, of London, mer- chant,	200		
1154.	Lawrence Peacocke, of London, merchant taylor,	50		
1155.	Christopher Goad, gent.,	100		
1156.	Sam Rumney, of Mayfield, in Sussex,	35		
1157.	William Lord Mounson,	600		
1158.	Anthony Belfield, of Stodham,	50		
1159.	John Sibley, of Stodham,	50		
1160.	Elizabeth Blake, of Brixham,	10		
1161.	Richard Culmere, of Canterbury, clerke, .	200		
1162.	John Parkhurst, of Margretta, in Canter- bury,	20	7	10
1163.	John Mosia, of London, cooke,	25		
1164.	Francis Cole, of London, gent.,	25		
1165.	John Edwards, of London, merchant,	40		
1166.	Michael or Nicholas Bureott, minister, . .	100		
1167.	Katherine Triplett, of Hampton Gay, . .	20		
1168.	Roger Hill, of Taunton,	200		

		£	s.	d.
1169.	George Powell, Mayor of Taunton, and others of the said Corporation,	1360		
1170.	S ^r John Clotworthy, Knt.,	1000		
1171.	John Gouing, of Bristol, merchant,	1000		
1172.	Robert Wallis of Sutton, in Northampton- shire,	25		
1173.	Thomas May, of London, clothworker,	50		
1174.	Sam Gardner, of Evesham, in Worcester- shire,	25		
1175.	Richard Woolfe, of London, girdler,	20		
1176.	William Hussey, of Shafton, in Dorset- shire,	100		
1177.	Thomas Jenner, of London,	10		
1178.	John Swan, minister, of Outon, in Kent,	50		
1179.	John and Charles Parker,	200		
1180.	John Player, minister,	25		
1181.	James Brickdell, of London,	10		
1182.	John Allured, Esq.,	100		
1183.	Ralph Clerke, skinner,	[]	75	0 0
1184.	Tobias ffrere, in Norfolk, Esq.,	750		
1185.	James Clerke, of Stanes,	50		
1186.	Out of the Chamber of London,	10,000		
1187.	ffrom y ^r Custom House,	2000		
1188.	Ranulph Crew freely gave,	80		
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	Total,	£249,305	19	8

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR Y^E SEA FORCES.(See *supra*, p. 74.)

	£	s.	d.
1189. Francis Newman,	50		
1190. George Clerke, merchant taylor,	100		
1191. Robert Barefoot, merchant taylor,	150		
1192. Robert Reynold, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	600		
1193. S ^r David Watkins,	375		
1194. Oliver Cromwell, Esq., a member of y ^e House,	300		
1195. S ^r Arthur Hazlerigg, Kn ^t , a member of y ^e House,	600		
1196. William Stroud, Esq., of Barrington, So- mersetshire,	600		
1197. Samuel Crispe, of London,	850		
1198. John Wood,	850		
1199. S ^r Nicholas Crispe,	1700		
1200. Henry Whittaker,	200		
1201. Robert Staunton,	300		
1202. Thomas Andrews, of London, alderman,	500		
1203. Sampson Sheffield, Pensioner to his Ma ^{tie} ,	300		
1204. Samuel Moody, of Berry, in Suffolke,	600		
1205. John Bright, of Berry, in Suffolke,	300		
1206. John Clarke, of Berry, in Suffolke,	200		
1207. Hugh Grove, of Berry, in Suffolke,	50		
1208. Richard Coyshe, skinner,	120		
1209. Thomas Barnardiston,	50		
1210. Samuel Moyer, merchant,	300		
1211. William flesher,	300		
1212. Richard Hunt, mercer,	100		
1213. Henry Day, mercer,	200		
1214. Capt. Edmond Harvey and Edmond Sleigh,	300		
1215. John Marryot and Samuel Cooper, of Lon- don,	100		

		£	£	s.	d.
1216.	Abraham Babbington, of London, draper,	400			
1217.	John Bate, of London, merchant taylor, .	100			
1218.	Thomas Vincent, of London, leather seller,	1000			
1219.	John Brett, of London, merchant taylor,	300			
1220.	William Booke, merchant taylor, . .	200			
1221.	William Underwood, of London, grocer, .	100			
1222.	Richard Rogers, of London, grocer, .	100			
1223.	Richard Clutterbucke, of London, mercer,	200			
1224.	Thomas Prince, of London, tallow chandler,	100			
1225.	Peter Prince, of London, tallow chandler,	100			
1226.	Thomas Stone, of London, haberdasher, .	200			
1227.	Samuel Warner, grocer; William Thompson, son, salter,	600			
1228.	William Pennoyer, clothworker, . . .	350			
1229.	Sam Pennoyer, of London,	450			
1230.	Cornelius and Stephen Mountney, . . .	100			
1231.	Maurice and George Thompson, . . .	1000			
1232.	Jeremiah Hearne,	40			
1233.	Jasper Davis, of London, turner, . . .	100			
1234.	Moses Jenkins, of Coleman-street, . . .	100			
1235.	John Guxton, gent.,	200			
1236.	Richard Turner, Sen'. and Jun',, mer- chant taylors,	200			
1237.	Thomas Alcocke, haberdasher, . . .	100			
1238.	John Jurin, of London, dyer, . . .	200			
1239.	Richard Shute, of London, merchant,	300			
1240.	Everard Boulton, barber chirurgeon,	100			
1241.	Robert Lewellin, of London, salter,	200			
1242.	Henry Boyce, tallow chandler, . . .	150			
1243.	Thomas foote, of London,	100			
1244.	Samuel Loughall, of London,	100			
1245.	William Allen, of London, vintner,	200			
1246.	Richard Warring, grocer,	660			
1247.	Thomas Turgis, grocer,	200			
1248.	Robert and Richard Smith,	400			

		£	s	d
1249.	Thomas Stocke,	400		
1250.	Thomas Brightwell, of London, bowyer,	400		
1251.	Thomas Hussey, of London, grocer,	200		
1252.	John Lane, of London, grocer,	200		
1253.	Giles Townsend,	100		
1254.	John Strange, merchant taylor,	200		
1255.	John Perry, of London, skinner,	50		
1256.	John Bigg, of Maidstone, in Kent,	150		
1257.	Richard Crispe, of Maidstone, gent.,	[]		
1258.	Abraham and Thomas Chamberlaine, merchants,	1000		
1259.	Robert Lambell, grocer,	100		
1260.	Hogan Hawell and John Baker, of London,	200		
1261.	William ffewster, of Richmond, in Surry,	50		
1262.	francis Collins, of London, skinner,	50		
1263.	Richard Porter, of Abbots, Langley, Esq.,	400		
1264.	Stephen Beale, leather seller,	1200		
1265.	Thomas Rodbeard and Deins Gauden, of London,	600		
1266.	Robert Ellis, of London, mercer,	200		
1267.	Elisha Robbins, of London, mercer,	100		
1268.	ffrancis Webb, of London, dyer,	1000		
1269.	Edward Gettings, painter steyner,	100		
1270.	William Willoughby, of Wapping Wall,	50		
1271.	John Waterton,	50		
1272.	Henry Roach,	50		
1273.	fulke Wormelayton,	50		
1274.	Abraham Woodruffe,	50		
1275.	John King,	50		
1276.	Richard and Nathaniel Laeye, of London,	100		
1277.	William Greenhill, of Stepney,	100		
1278.	William Hukins, of London, merchant,	1000		
1279.	James Bunce, of London,	200		
1280.	Thomas and William Rainsborow, merchant taylors,	800		
1281.	Robert Houghton, of Southwarke,	400		

		£	£	s.	d.
1282.	Thomas Melhuish, of London, factor,	. . . . .	300		
1283.	John Owen, of London, grocer,	. . . . .	200		
1284.	Richard and Alexander Vennor,	. . . . .	150		
1285.	John and Thomas Tyler,	. . . . .	150		
1286.	George Snelling,	. . . . .	100		
1287.	Gilbert Lambell,	. . . . .	500		
1288.	William French of Emanuel Colledge,	. . . . .	150		
1289.	Richard Winstone, of London, grocer,	. . . . .	100		
1290.	James Story,	. . . . .	150		
1291.	Thomas Browne, of London,	. . . . .	500		
1292.	Samuel Harsnett, of London,	. . . . .	150		
1293.	Symon Beardolfe, of London, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	200		
1294.	William Beale, of London,	. . . . .	506	59.	
1295.	Richard Allen, of London, grocer,	. . . . .	150		
1296.	Richard Litler, of Silvester Dennis,	. . . . .	90		
1297.	Serj ^t -Major Wagstaffe, of Harbury, &c.,	. . . . .	100		
1298.	Edward Woods, compartners,	. . . . .	500		
1299.	William Loupe, of Westm ^r , chirurgeon,	. . . . .	100		
1300.	Joshua Woollnough, merchant taylor,	. . . . .	75		
1301.	Marke Bradley, of London, scrivener,	. . . . .	50		
1302.	William Coop,	. . . . .	50		
1303.	George Bradley, stationer,	. . . . .	50		
1304.	John Harris, of London, girdler,	. . . . .	50		
1305.	Philip Skippon, Serj ^t -Major General,	. . . . .	200		
1306.	Richard Hutchinson, of London, iron- monger,	. . . . .	100		
1307.	Edward Vaughan, of Cheapside,	. . . . .	100		
1308.	Charles Vaughan, of Devon, Esq.,	. . . . .	100		
1309.	William Vaughan, of London, grocer,	. . . . .	100		
1310.	Edward Ausley, armorer,	. . . . .	100		
1311.	Richard Willett, of London, merchant,	. . . . .	300		
1312.	Michael Herring, of London, haberdasher,	. . . . .	200		
1313.	Gregory Clement, of London, merchant,	. . . . .	1300		
1314.	William Methould, of London, merchant,	. . . . .	400		

		£	£	s.	d.
1315.	Laurence Brimley, of London,	. . .	200		
1316.	Thomas Brimley, of St. John-street, Esq.,	. . .	100		
1317.	Samuel Browne,	. . . . .	50		
1318.	Gerald Boate, of Holland,	. . . .	100		
1319.	Nicholas Isaacke, of Barnestaple, merchant,	. . . . .	100	75	0 0
1320.	William Heecocke, brewer,	. . . .	400		
1321.	Daniel Mercer, dyer,	. . . .	50		
1322.	Christopher Searle, dyer,	. . . .	100		
1323.	Christopher Goad, gent.,	. . . .	100		
1324.	ffrancis Whitston,	. . . .	150		
1325.	Richard Leader, and compartner,	. . .	200		
1326.	Robert Roulston,	. . . .	100		
1327.	Thomas Hussey, Jun',	. . . .	200		
1328.	Robert ffoste,	. . . .	100		
1329.	William Stane, D'. of phisicke,	. . .	100		
1330.	John Lorrard,	. . . .	200		
1331.	Thomas Woodgate,	. . . .	200		
1332.	Richard Piggott, grocer,	. . . .	300		
1333.	Mr. Jeremy Burroughs,	. . . .	100		
1334.	John Thompson, Esq.,	. . . .	200		
1335.	Robert Thompson,	. . . .	100		
1336.	Richard Hill,	. . . . .	700		
1337.	Benjamin Whitcombe and Richard Vickars,	. . . .	500		
1338.	Robert Garner, of London, merchant,	. . .	400		
1339.	Wiliam Gomeodon,	. . . .	300		
1340.	Capt. Richard Crandley,	. . . .	300		
1341.	Robert or Richard Wood, of Harlow,	. . .	25		
1342.	Christopher Tabor, of Harlow,	. . .	50		
1343.	William Wallis, of London, mercer,	. . . .	100		
1344.	Theophilus Royley,	. . . .	50		
1345.	Moyses Goodier, of Plymouth, merchant,	. . .	200		
1346.	Paul Greensmith,	. . . . .	50		
1347.	John Cobb,	. . . . .	50		
1348.	Henry Robrough, minister,	. . . . .	30		

		£	£	s.	d.
1349.	John Wallington,	. . . . .	2	5	
1350.	Jeremy Bridges,	. . . . .	2	5	
1351.	Thomas Cuningham,	. . . . .	1	800	
1352.	Lewis Dyke,	. . . . .	5	200	
1353.	Mary Silloby, widow,	. . . . .	1	0	
1354.	Sarah, y ^e wife of Laurence Brenley, merchant,	. . . . .	5	0	
1355.	Marmaduke Tenant, clerke,	. . . . .	5	0	
1356.	Lambert Pitches,	. . . . .	5	0	
1357.	Samuel Pearce, beaver maker,	. . . . .	1	00	
1358.	Samuel fferris, of London,	1	60	
1359.	Henry Eldred,	1	00	
1360.	John Whiteing,	5	0	
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	Total,	<u>£</u>	<u>43,406</u>	<u>5</u>
				0	

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in hurling, ib.

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